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Contents for November 1945

EDITORIAL COMMENT	<i>Alfred Willoughby</i>	482
COAST STATES TRY COOPERATION	<i>Miriam Roher</i>	484
FORGING GUNS INTO NIGHTSTICKS <i>Norman J. Powell and Harold Levine</i>		488
TOLEDO AND ITS BIG TOMORROW	<i>Ronald E. Gregg</i>	493
ERA OF COOPERATION FOR CITIES	<i>Carlos M. Moran</i>	499
NEWS IN REVIEW		
CITY, STATE AND NATION	<i>H. M. Olmsted</i>	503
RESEARCHER'S DIGEST		509
CITIZEN ACTION	<i>Elsie S. Parker</i>	512
PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION	<i>George H. Hallett, Jr.</i>	516
COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP	<i>Elwyn A. Mauck</i>	518
TAXATION AND FINANCE	<i>Wade S. Smith</i>	521
LOCAL AFFAIRS ABROAD	<i>Edward W. Weidner</i>	525
BOOKS IN REVIEW		529

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Organized Neighborliness

AS MINORITY pressure groups continue to have their way with pliant national and state governments, the role of the local community as the chief guardian of the rights of the majority becomes more apparent.

The crucial questions during the next decade or two may be: Will the creeping paralysis of mandates and controls from "higher" governments continue to sabotage local autonomy? Will citizens overcome their lethargy and defeatism and use the power that is theirs to force government to translate their desires into administrative action?

All through history it has been the organized community—or groups of citizens within the community—that protected the people from predatory elements and established a safe place for the development of a good life. An early manifestation was the gathering of small groups around strong families behind moats and stone walls. In more recent memory on this and other continents people stayed within or near stockades. During the depression of a decade ago the need for a different type of protection emerged when tax revenues faded and many an essential service faced starvation if it had no pressure group to support it.

That emergency gave rise to the citizens' councils. These were composed of representatives of existing citizen groups who met around a

table to discuss all aspects of the community's needs. The unreasonable demands of the special pleader for undiminished support of his pet activity were tempered and in hundreds of places the bad effects of the depression were minimized.

During the recent war we experienced an even more dramatic demonstration of organized neighborliness in the local defense councils which coordinated community action and understanding, met many pressing problems and developed leadership and cooperation.

Now, as such organizations are disbanding, it is widely proposed that some means be found to keep them going to cope with problems that are never absent from a way of life which is based on self-government and responsible citizenship. Here and there, it is true, the impetus originally provided by the war emergency has left a basis for more or less permanent and formal organizations. In other places new civic organizations are developing. But for the most part this tremendous cooperative force seems to be disintegrating.

It is a pity. Here is a great army of unselfish, well intentioned citizens who have learned how easy it is to do big things for their home towns by such simple methods as getting on the telephone, ringing doorbells and meeting in small groups to learn what's wrong and what to do about it.

These techniques are neither new nor difficult. With them minority political groups have dominated many communities for generations. Less often but successfully civic groups have done likewise. The problem is not how to do it; it is to get people to do it.

Most people are only dimly aware, if at all, of how effective they can be, how eager their likeminded fellows are to respond to suggestion and cooperate in something which appeals to their latent desire to perform altruistic service.

In this vast army of men and women who worked in the civilian

defense organizations during their spare time is an immense reservoir of people who have already felt the stimulation and satisfaction that come from organized neighborliness. Another great source of civic workers will be found among the millions of men who have been away in the armed forces and whose home towns have been much in their minds.

Most of these people are not extroverts. They have to be challenged and asked to pitch in again for the home front battles which lie ahead. But leaders who have the talent to make things happen will find many of them ready and willing to respond.

A Good Try at an Old Chestnut

THE story of a gallant attempt to dramatize the chronic evil of the failure of state legislatures to reapportion their legislative districts is told in this issue of the REVIEW.¹

There is logic in the contention of Candidate Smith that, if he won, he would be illegally elected because his district, the largest in Minnesota, has as many residents as fourteen counties having five and one-half times as many members in the legislature. The State Supreme Court turned him down, however, saying that the legislature's "judgment and discretion are its own to exercise or not—as its conscience permits."

Well, state legislatures have had no conscience about the way they flout the constitutional mandate to re-arrange legislative districts after each census in accordance with population shifts. Minnesota, for instance, has had no reapportionment

since 1913. Large cities are treated in a similarly unfair manner in many other states.

The solemn pretension of legislators that they are representative of the people when they know they are living a lie must lose them much in self-respect. And self-respect would seem to be a necessary prerequisite to public respect which, unfortunately, is frequently lost by our legislative bodies.

Legislatures having consistently failed to do the right thing, the responsibility for reapportionment should be taken away from them. It should be made automatic. As matters stand in most of our states, legislatures are demonstrating their own lack of faith in the democratic processes and are sabotaging self-government—a pretty poor example for our people and for a world to which we are currently trying to demonstrate the superiority of democracy.

¹See page 504.

Coast States Try Cooperation

California, Washington and Oregon organize Pacific Coast Board of Intergovernmental Relations; states and their local governments seeking solutions to common problems.

By MIRIAM ROHER*

WHEN you come right down to it, could anything be much more artificial than a unit of government?

Disease doesn't know a legal boundary when it sees one, as has been made clear repeatedly by the public health people. But germs are not the only anarchists in the field of public problems. How about depressions? Floods? The economic aftermath of wars? Unemployment? Prosperity? Industrial expansion? Crime?

The point does not have to be punned. It is usually more than obvious to any laborer in the governmental vineyard that neither he nor his city, county, state or federal agency alone is competent to meet any except the most narrowly jurisdictional of day-to-day problems. This generation's desperate manhandling of the term "coordination" gives testimony on the many at-

tempts that have been made to break out of the strait-jacket imposed by history in the form of city governments, county governments, state governments, federal agencies.

This is the story of another such attempt. If it works it may foretell something new in governmental organization. Even if it fails to work, it will at least have been proof of the fact that the west coast of the United States harbored some men of vision, daring and good will in the years of World War II and immediately after.

What officials in Washington, Oregon and California have done is to set up an organization that transcends all governmental lines. They call it the Pacific Coast Board of Intergovernmental Relations. It is composed of representatives of cities, counties, the three states and the federal agencies which operate out of western offices. It meets once every three months and its purpose is to throw on the table current western problems that concern the whole region. What happens next is up to the individual men who sit on the board.

The Pacific Coast Board of Intergovernmental Relations has no power in itself to do anything except meet and talk. But should its individual members agree among themselves to do something as a result

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of the meeting and talking, and then *go home and do it*, the board could become a powerful official body.

That some means of acting in concert on Pacific Coast problems is badly needed has been clear for some time to those who must meet these problems every day. The war underlined the mutuality of these problems. The postwar is circling it in red. War brought to the three Pacific Coast states the greatest population influx they have ever had in so short a period. It brought also immense sudden industrialization. The wartime problems resulting from these happenings is a tale told before. The postwar results are possibly less well known.

Now what happens to all this new population, most of which is staying? The war industries are either gone or going fast. Where they stood, nothing stood before. Where are the necessary jobs coming from, the necessary housing, the necessary community facilities, the necessary social controls, to cope with a new and powerful infusion of potentially warring social groups?

The day is long since past when government stood aloof from such social and economic problems. Today's elected and appointed officials know that not only their tax base but every one of their functions has its roots and takes its character from the economic and social situation of the people who live within the boundaries of their governmental unit. They know also that the economic and social situation of their people depends in turn on the economic and social situation of the people in the whole area. The

Pacific Coast is an economic and social area of remarkable homogeneity. Ergo—the Pacific Coast Board of Intergovernmental Relations.

The way the board came about is an illustration, in the social science field, of the same sort of strides that the physical sciences always take in wartime. This board is an outgrowth of the Ninth Regional Civilian Defense Board which had been set up in the harried days of World War II to meet the Pacific Coast's mutual problems of defense. It, too, was composed of representatives of all levels of government. Defense became a broad term before the war was over, and came to include every war-connected civilian activity. The remarkable thing about the Ninth Regional Civilian Defense Board is that it is said to have been the only one of the regional boards which really worked. At least, that is the impression here on the West Coast, which may or may not be living up to its reputation for always arrogating to itself the place at the head of the line.

From War to Peace

In any event, the Ninth Regional Board *was* successful and the reasons for that success are said to be matters of personality. Any new organization depends on personal leadership. This one succeeded because the men who were supposed to be members actually came to meetings and did not send their third or fourth assistants or deputies. Notable among the faithful was Governor Earl Warren of California. Any meeting that a governor attends

religiously and regularly is automatically a meeting of some consequence. No one else can afford to miss it.

The problems that the Ninth Regional Civilian Defense Board managed to solve by mutual consultation are water over the dam now. The precedent the board set, however, is part of the permanent reservoir of Pacific Coast governmental lore.

When civilian defense became a term to be shipped up to the attic with grandpa's old portrait (circa 1944), some of the men who had witnessed the board's remarkable razing of governmental boundaries determined that they would carry over this wartime lesson into peacetime. Over a period of a year, while the Ninth Regional Civilian Defense Board lay dormant, they talked up the idea. By June 21, 1945, they had achieved the first meeting of the Pacific Coast Board of Intergovernmental Relations, at Portland, Oregon. On September 21, 1945, the second meeting was held in San Francisco. A third meeting is already scheduled for Seattle on December 7. It appears that the new organization is fairly launched.

Problems Discussed

It is much too soon to talk about accomplishments. But a look at the agendas of the two meetings already held will illustrate the scope of the board's ambitions. Disposition of federal property, disposition and possible re-use of temporary war housing, problems arising out of the administration of federal aid, the future industrial prospects of the

Pacific Coast, cooperative programs necessary to absorb the shock of war's ending, the need to retain in the west for future industrial development the skilled labor drawn by war industry, the extent of present employment and unemployment on the Pacific Coast, public works planning and timing, surplus property disposal and availability of materials for industrial conversion, estimated expenditures for gross national product and national labor force estimates.

Discussion of the latter topic, at the San Francisco meeting, showed something new in official attitudes. It was less a discussion than a schoolroom adventure. A federal man pinned a big chart to the wall. He used a pointer and he lectured on matters at least as fundamental and as difficult of comprehension as the materials of a course in graduate economics. And two governors, a dozen big city mayors, federal agency heads, and assorted other governmental leaders listened as seriously, intently and intelligently as graduate students. One could almost smell the chalk dust in the air. The event was important because it showed a willingness to study and to learn that is not always characteristic of the doers of this world. West coast people realize that they have a problem on their hands. They apparently are digging down to fundamentals to solve it.

The amplitude and variety of the roster of members and "consultants" who attended both the first and second meetings is further evidence of the degree of enthusiasm and interest which these westerners are giv-

ing to the attempt to melt artificial government barriers. An additional advantage of such varied attendance was that no question arose which could not be given a first-hand answer by some official in a position to have authoritative facts. You can get a great deal done in a short time when your information is sitting no farther away than across the room.

The prospects are good—but they are not perfect. Aside from the obvious fact that action resulting from the board's meetings depends entirely on the good will and good intentions of each individual member of the board, aside from the obvious fact that even good will and good intentions cannot transcend some legal blocks in the road to accomplishment, a new difficulty arose at the second meeting of the board. The first meeting was closed to the press. The second one was not.

The Press Attends

What elements went into the decision to invite the newspapers in must be imagined. It is not hard to see why the temptation to have public witness to this unprecedented good will fest might have been too much for men many of whom owe

their positions to public approval. There are some, however, who believe that the chances for a frank, free, creative discussion of the west's problems are now considerably faded by the hot light of publicity. The reporters' pencils were very busy at that second meeting and the flashbulbs popped throughout the day. How many statements were made for the record, how many statements were not made because of the fear of the record, no one knows.

At the very least, the Pacific Coast Board of Intergovernmental Relations gives long overdue emphasis to the fact that there is hardly any problem that can be solved on a single governmental level. It represents a challenge to throw open the doors and unbarricade the staircases so that the house may be cleaned, at long last, from top to bottom. At best, the board can mean the beginning of formal governmental recognition of an aim spoken by Governor Warren at the close of the San Francisco meeting. "I'm for anything," he said, "that helps any other part of the Pacific Coast." It is the United Nations principle brought home to American government at last.

Forging Guns into Nightsticks

Readjustment of veterans who return to their old public service jobs might be made much simpler if the attitudes of civilian associates were corrected, study suggests.

By NORMAN J. POWELL and HAROLD LEVINE*

THIS study is concerned with the attitudes of the public service employee toward his colleague who, having been away on military leave, is returning in increasing numbers to his former job. The focus of attention is not the veteran as such; it is the point of view, the expectations, the fears, the intellectual and emotional complex of sentiments and judgments with which the non-veteran awaits the return of his fellow employee who has been a member of the armed forces.

Only a segment of the total problem of the relations between veterans and non-veterans is explored here. But it is a major segment, for the character of the public service is both outcome and determinant of the nature of the state itself. The point is made in John Dewey's remark—in *The Public and Its Problems*—that "the state is as its officials are."

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The quality of public administration in the United States, as elsewhere, will depend on administrative personnel and a focal matter in influencing the effectiveness with which public policy operates in any given case is the way in which the public employee works with his fellows.

Opportunity for the analysis in this article arose in the recent administration, by a city of middle size in the northeastern part of the United States, of a series of promotion tests to officers in the police and fire departments. The police examinations were given to sergeants and lieutenants seeking promotion to the posts of lieutenant and captain. In the fire examinations, lieutenants and captains competed for the positions of captain and assistant chief.

Included in each examination was a question requiring the candidate to write a report revelant to his rank. In the test for lieutenant, for example, the following question was asked:

"As veteran members of the force return from service, their assignment to the units to which they were attached raises certain problems with which lieutenants must be prepared to deal. Write a report to your captain outlining these problems and your recommendations for handling them."

The remaining examinations contained the same question, with the appropriate rank substituted for lieutenant and the title of the immediate superior inserted in place of captain.

Altogether, 49 persons took the examinations. The limitations implicit in any statistical analysis of the answers preclude quantitative treatment. Thus, the number of men studied is small, the data appertain to men in civil uniformed forces, the sample is highly selected geographically and includes persons somewhat older than the typical civil servant. But the applicants' comments are suggestive of the attitudes and thinking of the non-veteran public employee. On the one hand, there are those who feel that nothing is too good for the returning veteran:

"He must be given every consideration in appreciation for the service rendered to his country. . . ."

"Nothing can be too good for the veteran. . . ."

On the other hand, there are those who say that nothing is too good for the veteran but—

"We must remember that they were willing to die to save us here at home and nothing now should be too good for us to give them when they return, but it must be executed without lowering the morale of the department."

"Allow extra credits for taking examinations, show that their interests were being considered while in service, but point out that other men would have liked to enter the services but due to the commission-

er appealing their cases it was impossible to do so. . . ."

"It is the opinion of the members that the returning veterans are entitled to be given a fair amount of points in an examination but not because they are veterans to hand the promotions to them on a silver platter. It must be taken into consideration that some members were too young for the last war and are not physically able to perform duty in the present war and should not be discriminated against. Quite a few members who were not in either war have sons and daughters in the present conflict."

No Favors for Veteran

Completing the triad of general approaches is the position that there should be no differentiation between the veteran and the non-veteran:

"Of course, no favors should be shown as this would create dissension amongst the other members of the staff. The returning members should also be made to understand that they should consider the other members of the force who through no fault of their own were not in the service. . . ."

Among the likely, hypothetical problems envisaged is competition between the veteran and the non-veteran:

"One problem I have is the veteran who wants the choice post although the man on this has seniority."

"Some claim special considerations because of their veteran's rating over and above that of a non-veteran, and request easy and special work. . . ."

"There may be jealousies of other men caused by preferments allowed on examinations for promotions. . . ."

Closely tied up with this competitive process is the effect on morale:

"In returning the veterans to their former squads, it may interfere with the morale of senior members of this command who were assigned to these veterans' places."

"The patrolman on the job feels he deserves better consideration. He figures he held down the 'home front' and gave all to his city and country by remaining on the job at home."

Some candidates are not at all sure that the veteran will agree that the "home-fronter" has given "his all":

"Members of the same age and time on the job will have been promoted. These same members were not drafted and did not volunteer for armed service. This might cause uneasiness on the part of the veteran and might let him feel that he was not treated fairly in this respect. . . ."

Resentment might be expressed in the general demeanor of the veteran:

"Will be overbearing; criticize those not entering the service. . . ."

"Some veterans will look down upon those patrolmen who were not in the service. . . ."

"Patrolmen Smith and Jones are assigned to the same squad and at this time are annoying members of the squad and platoon that are of military age and through no fault of theirs were unable to be members of the armed services. The above patrolmen are of the opinion that

they are superior to other members of the precinct. . . ."

A few applicants believe that an important specific factor which may produce a serious problem is that here and there will be found instances of reduction in relative rank, as a major returning to a patrolman position:

"The veteran with an officer's rank in service resents the feeling of being reduced to the subordinate rank of patrolman. . . ."

"What will be their reaction when they are again put into civilian life, in many instances from positions in the service where they were themselves in authority to the duties of a mere patrolman? Men who attained a high rank in the particular branch they were in will resent taking orders from civilian bosses. . . ."

Veterans Know More?

Some civilian members of the police and fire forces predict that the veteran will strut unbecomingly the technical knowledge he acquired in the armed services. This opinion is found particularly among persons in the fire department:

"Veterans being well informed on the various subjects of fire fighting taught them by the military will assume an independent attitude and be in a position to ridicule other firemen should they try to discuss these matters. . . ."

"In one case a man who had served in the fire fighting forces of the Navy thinks he has more knowledge than anyone in the department. . . ."

"On different occasions they have tried to express their views on how

fires should be fought according to the way they were taught in the service. . . ."

Others, more cheerfully, look forward to the probability that the veteran's special training can be utilized advantageously:

"Having been trained in their respective branches of the Navy and Army, these men are highly trained and qualify above the average patrolman in regular police patrol. I would suggest that, when conditions permit, the service man be given a trial in the detective division."

"Assign veterans who may have received special training while in service to specific branches of police duty such as fingerprinting, photography, crime detection, radio. . . ."

The non-veterans lay considerable stress on the adverse psychological effects of the strains of war on the veteran:

"The mental state of men who for the past three or four years have lived under a mental and physical strain, who have killed and seen their buddies killed, must be taken into consideration as an important factor. . . ."

"Their high state of nervousness due to shell shock precipitates the making of grave mistakes. . . ."

"... Slight neurotic and psychosis cases will be too free with firearms, due to being trained to glorify killing; will want to drive vehicles at a fast rate of speed causing recklessness, on account of doing this kind of driving in combat zones. . . ."

Not all the non-veterans' forecasts are so disturbing. A few men see no problem of adjustment at all:

"Returning veterans do not need any so-called special adjustments as to their fitness for duty or efficiency. . . ."

"I do not contemplate any trouble from the service man. . . ."

The over-all impression yielded by close examination of candidates' statements is that the points of view of the non-veterans studied differ widely, being as diversified, it may be, as those in the country generally. That the applicants' responses were unrelated to the fact that they happened to be in fire or police work or that they held one or another rank is an additional specific supporting the tentative generalization that reaction of the non-veteran to the veteran in the uniformed forces of the public service is conditioned by stimuli not peculiar to the set of circumstances studied.

Is Veteran a 'Problem'?

There is another point which emerges strikingly from the data. It is the emphasis laid by the great majority of the participants in the examination on the veteran as a bundle of difficulties, especially psychiatric. It is possible that the phrasing of the question item in the examination was such as to stimulate answers of this kind in that the question called for consideration of the "problems" raised by the returning veterans. Probably some such phrase as "problems and opportunities" would have evoked somewhat different answers.

The fact is, nevertheless, that the non-veteran is in far too many cases carrying in his mind the stereotype of the veteran who is jumpy, irri-

table, unpredictable, abnormal. Perhaps the cycle of movies and stories dealing with the neuropsychiatric veteran is at fault. In any event, it would be most desirable to have characterizations in great number of veterans who are utterly and completely normal. Thus, Mauldin states in *Up Front*:

"One of the foremost objections to a steady portrayal of the troubles and lives of combat infantrymen and those who work with them . . . has been that these guys are going to feel that the nation owes them a living, and that they will become 'social problems.' This feeling has been so strong in some places that veteran combat men are looked at askance by worried and peaceable citizens. That's a sad thing for a guy who was sent off to war with a blare of patriotic music, and it's really not necessary.

"There will be a few problems, undoubtedly, because combat soldiers are made up of ordinary citizens—bricklayers, farmers and musicians. There will be good ones and some bad ones. But the vast majority of combat men are going

to be no problem at all. They are so damned sick and tired of having their noses rubbed in a stinking war that their only ambition will be to forget it."

It does seem distinctly unfortunate that the pathology of the veteran should figure so prominently in the thinking of the non-veteran. To be sure, problems are not solved by pretending they do not exist. Yet, equally, problems may be worsened and their impact made unnecessarily great by naive, not to say perverted, psychopathological concepts held by some non-veterans.

As a first step in promoting the development of satisfactory employee behavior patterns, it would be wise for administrators to devote portions of occasional staff meetings in public agencies to candid discussion of optimum relations between veterans and non-veterans. Printed and mimeographed materials could also be assembled for discussion purposes. The essential point is that just as the veteran employee may require adjustment so does the non-veteran in some cases need educational surgery.

Toledo and Its Big Tomorrow

Daring Norman Bel Geddes planning conception draws many students and visitors, model makes citizens of Ohio city conscious of need for long range, comprehensive program.

By RONALD E. GREGG*

THE Norman Bel Geddes model of "Toledo Tomorrow," sponsored by the *Toledo Blade*, is a courageous and brilliantly presented exhibit of master city planning. The model, approximately 60 feet in diameter, is shown daily at the Stratford Theater in the city's Zoological Gardens.

Much attention is given "Toledo Tomorrow" by both national and foreign press, magazines and official delegations. But we in Toledo are particularly interested in the response of local citizens—those who will decide whether and when to invest privately or publicly in the finer city of the future.

How did the Toledo project start? Will something be done about it?

The idea of exhibiting a "Toledo Tomorrow" grew from the original conception nearly two years ago of a \$1,000 map into a \$150,000 model, plus elaborate promotion. The model is produced to scale and depicts the future city as seen from an airplane at ten thousand feet. Major features shown are:

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1. The nation's first union terminal for the three major types of public transportation—air, rail and highway;

2. A network of airfields, including a downtown passenger airport which would bring the largest of tomorrow's air lines into the heart of the city;

3. A system of congestion-proof express highways fed by a network of inter-connecting roads;

4. Consolidation of railroad lines, yards and terminals within the metropolitan area;

5. Beautification of the river front and development of the lower river and Maumee Bay areas for commerce and industry;

6. Patterns for "communities" within the city for easier and more efficient daily life.

Photographers of *Life*¹ and *Architectural Forum*,² have reproduced good shots of these features.

There are five designated observation points. At each station a broadcast voice explains the plan.

Tri-terminal for Travelers

At mid-point of the model there is a downtown airport with its triangular landing and taxi strips—five minutes from the business section, the narrator says. On the left side of the airport, nestled in a hooked peninsula, there is provision for sea-

¹September 17, 1945.

²August, 1945.

plane anchorage. The seaplane ramp is farther downstream at a wider point of the river. Between the runway extensions on the uptown side is located the tri-terminal serving air, rail and bus passengers. Buses, taxis and other vehicles loop in from the Anthony Wayne Trail to either surface platforms, parking areas or baggage docks. Subsurface train tracks run beneath the station and airplane runways.

The area designated for the class-4 airport with 5,700-foot runways includes approximately a hundred city blocks and part of a railroad yard. Selection of this particular area assumed, first, the development of out-of-city rail marshalling yards; second, demolition in an area where structures on the average were built more than 55 years ago.

Most of the properties in the area are old and in the low-rent class with many unsanitary and sub-standard dwellings. Industrial properties are used for rail or warehousing purposes, commercial properties are old and run down. Acquisition of the area, however, would probably cost in the neighborhood of twenty million dollars.

Express Highways

From the next view-station one observes a network of express highways. Here, above the expanding suburban West Toledo the eye follows the proposed Washington-Monroe express highway directly downtown. Most of it is depressed. Traffic is separated by a parkway strip. Separation drives rise on the right, slowing the speed as the car approaches the local street at sur-

face level. The opposite is true for entering the expressway. This route is bridged at several points by cross streets.

The Chicago Pike, also transformed to a depressed expressway within the city, meets and crosses the Washington - Monroe system without requiring any cross traffic. The narrator describes it as non-stop, intersection-free and congestion-proof. This is the design for the future national super-highway system.

In such a manner Toledo is traversed—from Cincinnati and Columbus in the south to Detroit, and from Cleveland and Akron in the east to Chicago or Indianapolis.

Analyses of traffic are currently being studied in relation to potential condemnation costs in order to make final decisions as to the exact location of these super-highway routes.

Docks and Bridges

The third observation point gives one the view of Maumee Bay. On the observer's right, at the mouth of the river, is a proposed class-3 airport. "Toledo Tomorrow" calls for a freight airway, served by both land planes and seaplanes. An alternate plan is to locate the major airport at this point. The area is not built up; part is park land or residential, much is lowland that needs filling.

On the east bank of the bay a new industrial dock area is proposed. Planners hoped that such relocation would provide for expansion of coal, ore and oil shipping facilities and allow the present up-river dock area

to be free for redevelopment into a cleaner area—grain elevators, commercial shipping and parks.

This gradual shifting of dock area, if successful, will add to the solution of downtown traffic problems by reducing the disruptions of bridge traffic.

The "Toledo Tomorrow" plan reduces the number of bridges across the Maumee from seven to five. The down-river bridge, now used by the Wheeling and Lake Erie Railroad, would also become the crossing for the Toledo Terminal Railroad—a belt-line which circles the city—and an upper deck would be added for auto traffic on a shorter route between Cleveland and Detroit. The second bridge would be relocated (and is now ready for such considerations) so as to serve auto traffic that would otherwise use one of the midtown bridges. Relief given the midtown bridges by the two redesigned down-river bridges is estimated to be sufficient to permit the elimination of the last bridge, up-river, when the life of the present structure terminates or if the river is cleared for midtown airplane landing.

Railroads and River Front

The conception of a tri-terminal for air, auto and rail passengers which includes common trackage through the station is only a small part of the consolidation of rail facilities contemplated. Primary additions to the idea are extension of the use of the terminal belt-line and elimination of all except a few lines into the city. The planners propose the extension of out-of-city marshalling yards in order to re-

shuffle cars not destined for Toledo.

In addition to the elimination of many traffic hazards such a plan greatly reduces the number of grade-separations required. A pre-war survey in Toledo listed 22 for consideration. One being definitely undertaken will cost more than \$800,000, so there are many potential economies possible.

As heavy industry shipping is shifted from the east bank of the Maumee to the bay area and old docks are converted for cleaner and lighter usage, the architects propose beautification and some minor park areas along the river front. On the west side an extension of Riverside Park is recommended. A riverside highway is proposed as is an extensive off-street parking system in the midtown area.

Urban Redevelopment

Patterns for the redevelopment of housing areas near the downtown district are presented in the model. A combination of single family units, multiple family units and apartment houses is needed. Street plans in such areas are altered by these plans. The proposals reduce the number of streets by replacing them alternately with play areas or landscaping. Service drives shaped like a letter "U" eliminate all except local vehicular traffic. They are connected to the remaining local streets which in turn meet through-streets and arterial routes.

Such rehousing plans as these require multi-block development which in turn requires, in most cases, use of the power of eminent domain. This presents the problem of accept-

ing governmental housing as the economical method of redevelopment or enactment of enabling legislation by Ohio to permit joint action by the local government and private enterprise. The last session of the General Assembly did not pass the proposed urban redevelopment bill. Such legislation is a prerequisite to any plans yet presented, especially if low-cost housing is to become a significant factor in redeveloping the older parts of the city.

Particular importance is attached to this part of city planning in Toledo. A shortage of total housing facilities, inadequate housing in the older parts of the city, the desire for larger lots and open spaces, overcrowding of arterial streets, lack of easy downtown parking and the proposed expressways work in combination as a double-edged sword which slices away the tax basis of the city.

City Loses to Suburbs

Centrifugal movement of population from urban to suburban areas was reflected by an 8,000 drop in city population between 1930 and 1940 while total county population increased more than 5,000. The best available check since 1940 is the school census. Toledo schools lost an additional 3,000 pupils whereas enrollment of county schools increased. Finally, those observing the financial planning for new residences advise that as much as 80 per cent—perhaps 3,500 homes—are likely to be located in the near future in suburban areas. Such a trend would obviously transfer tax-paying ability out of the city.

Toledo has a beautiful and extensive public park system. More playgrounds are needed and are being developed gradually.

Citizen Action in Planning

From July 4 until Labor Day approximately 7,000 persons weekly saw the model "Toledo Tomorrow." Since then approximately 30,000 school children have been going in groups to view it. Clubs and other organizations arrange special tours for their members.

Many will remember particularly the dramatic presentation of the final observation station. Lights change gradually portraying the reflection of a glowing sunset, dusk and then an ideal city bathed in soft moonlight. The model presents the public with a living conception of urban progress, a glowing future, a vision to turn to reality.

"Toledo Tomorrow" is only one of many current local efforts at community planning.

The Metropolitan Planning Committee of the Toledo Chamber of Commerce also attempts master planning with particular references to downtown traffic, business area reconstruction, future industrial location and relocation, slum clearance and low-cost housing. The various subcommittees, however, are assigned to practically all phases of master planning.

Downtown property owners banded together, pooled their resources, and hired a staff of engineering consultants to make an exhaustive survey of the downtown area and all avenues of ingress and egress; several of the larger merchants are

making economic studies of their own stake in this metropolitan area.

The Regional Planning Association is composed of representatives of more than 70 civic, social and lay-church groups. Proposals from all sections of the city, from planners and legislators, come eventually before this group. Explanations are heard. Questions are asked. Votes are seldom taken. This forum is self-educational, serves as a sounding-board, and accomplishes much stimulation without detracting from the promotion of proper neighborhood and other limited-community interests.

To make sure that plans come from the grass-roots, an extensive organization of neighborhood planning groups is being developed. These groups represent villages and several townships as well as parts of the city. They are affiliated with the Regional Planning Association.

The Council of Social Agencies is sponsoring, with assistance from the National Recreation Association, the development of a community-wide integrated recreation program.

The City and County Planning Commissions operate in close harmony. The chairman and vice-chairman of each are the same persons. The planning engineer and his staff serve both commissions as well as the volunteer groups in search of planning information and technical assistance. It is a herculean task for such a staff to serve so many "unofficial" groups and at the same time complete its own master plan and approve or disapprove "for substantiated reason" the improvement projects presented. But mem-

bers of the plan commissions see benefits from considerable democracy in the planning, from the attempts of others to suggest, integrate and promote.

Public Financing Program

The popularity of postwar planning was anticipated, so an early start was made on fiscal planning. This was doubly necessary because both the city and schools were existing on too short rations.

Toledo was rather hard hit, even comparatively, by the depression of the 1930's. Fiscal affairs of the city still suffer from extensive relief financing. Ohio did not aid its cities as much as some other states. It enacted special refunding privileges for the cities and Toledo is still refunding. It enacted a state sales tax. Last year approximately four million dollars was collected in the Toledo area and three million was returned to the city. A constitutional over-all limitation on real estate taxation of 10 mills (city, county and schools) was enacted. A 65 per cent majority vote was required for approval of any special levy for the city or county.

Taxable assessed valuation dropped 35 per cent from 1930 to 1936. Operating expenses of many activities were cut and then cut again. County roads, city streets, school lunches, recreation, park maintenance, new hospitals and a host of other activities became WPA projects.

Then came the war with increased costs, depleted manpower and withdrawn federal works aid. Revenue from the general property tax in 1944 as compared with 1930 was 38

per cent less for the county, 33 per cent less for the city and 32 per cent less for schools.

With this picture facing them, 56 citizens accepted appointment to the Citizens Finance Committee. Subcommittees were formed—executive, research, operating services, debt service and tax delinquency, capital outlay and methods of financing. The Municipal League of Toledo and the Chamber of Commerce assigned research staffs to serve the committee. More than a hundred subcommittee meetings were held during the eleven months following July 12, 1944. The survey included the city of Toledo, Lucas County and Toledo School District. Operating budgets were projected for the next five years, 1946-50. Deferred maintenance and replacement of obsolete operating equipment were added. Bad debts and necessary outlay were put on top of this "get-the-house-in-order" study. The report issued in June 1945 was comprehensive, clear-cut and bore the marks of good judgment.³

The several increases of property taxes which the report calls for amount to a peak raise of 2.67 mills, from 18.94 to 21.61 mills. By 1951 the rate is estimated to be 18.23, or less than before the program was started, unless additions are made to the program by other improvements which become timely in the interim. Local public officials approve the financing program but the electorate must pass on it.

The semi-official Postwar and Long-Range Planning Committee

was appointed by the city manager with cooperation from the Boards of Education and County Commissioners. It is composed of a "citizen chairman," representatives of the city, county and school administrations, City and County Plan Commissions, University of Toledo and the several agencies previously mentioned. The staff of the Municipal League of Toledo serves as the secretariate and research arm.

This committee reviews improvement proposals, studies projects in view of community need, the status of plans and assigns "priority for development."

Currently, various stages of preparation are reported for fourteen of the major city projects, six county projects and several state projects which affect the local program. Bids are being requested for roads. Preliminary plans for three buildings have been approved. Financial arrangements for the final planning of the interregional highway system, a civic auditorium and several buildings are being discussed.

In the meantime state appropriations for nearby parks have been made. Contracts have been let for approximately \$15,000,000 to develop the bay-shore docks. A \$250,000 hotel renovation project has started. These and many other proposed private projects fit into the master plan. The architects of the city are as busy as the industrialists who are in the midst of reconversion.

Planning in Toledo is comprehensive and widespread. The problems are large. The attack is long-range. The vision healthy. Surely the years to come will bring reasonably systematic progress.

³For the report see Supplement to *Toledo City Journal*, September 15, 1945. See also p. 524 this issue.

Era of Cooperation for Cities

Substantial progress toward solution of local government problems forecast from increasing exchange of information and experience by municipalities throughout the world.

By CARLOS M. MORAN*

THERE is an old saying in Spanish: *La Naturaleza no procede a saltos* which, translated freely, means "Nature takes its course." Literally, it says that nature does not proceed by leaps. There is evidence both for and against this theory, it seems to us today, when we feel we are living through "leaps" in all directions.

One very important "leap" was the conquest of the air. Air travel, more even than other kinds of travel, has brought new emphasis to the importance and individuality of cities all over the world. To say "I am going to India and China" is outmoded these days; now we say "I'm off to New Delhi" and "I must be in Chungking by next Saturday."

Perhaps, since the days of ancient Greece, cities have not enjoyed the stature they are achieving today, even during the times of the famous Hanseatic League or the independent cities of Renaissance Italy.

It is not strange, then, that mod-

ern times, which see increasing internationalism in many aspects, should also produce a movement toward an international "state of cities."

International cooperation at the municipal level was first presented before World War I, in 1913 in Ghent, Belgium. The First International Congress of Towns was held there that fateful last year before World War I, and it organized the International Union of Local Authorities as a permanent body. In 1924, in the United States, the American Municipal Association was formed and in 1927 it became affiliated with the I. U. L. A. This eventually resulted in the organization in 1934 of another group, the American Committee for the I. U. L. A.

In the Western Hemisphere, however, organizations for active participation on a wide scale did not exist. The project languished although in Europe congresses were being held regularly, publications exchanged and information disseminated.

In America, however, there were signs of life from another source. In 1922 Ruy de Lugo-Viña, a dynamic Cuban visionary, writer and a city councilman of Havana, who had urged the cause of universal intermunicipalism and friendly relations among cities and their inhabitants for the first time the year before in Mexico, succeeded in having the city government of Havana pass

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an extensive resolution in defense of municipalities establishing organizations, just as states and corporations do, to further good relations and an exchange of ideas for their protection and the development of their influence. Havana also pledged the aid of the city government to sponsor and foster such a movement on an international scale.

Cuba Fosters Cooperation

A year later the Cuban delegation to the Fifth International Conference of American States presented a resolution providing that governments foster the development of intermunicipal collaboration within national territories and encourage the establishment of contacts between Pan-American municipalities.

Meanwhile, the Cuban delegation to the League of Nations had recommended that the Assembly foster the idea of intermunicipalism, and a similar resolution was adopted, giving the movement worldwide recognition and prestige.

Then the Pan-American Union was instructed to organize and effect the First Pan-American Congress of Municipalities, to take up in detail subjects affecting municipalities and systems of urban administration. Delegates from all municipalities in the Americas of over 50,000 population were to attend. This conference, scheduled to take place in Havana in 1931 as a tribute to the role Cuba had played in furthering intermunicipalism, had to be postponed for seven years.

Perhaps this very postponement, until 1938, emphasized the enthusiasm evident when the Congress

actually was celebrated. From then on interest in the movement became progressively evident and insistent.

One of the most practical immediate results of the congress was the establishment, with seat in Havana, of the Pan-American Commission on Intermunicipal Cooperation as the board of directors and secretariat of the congress. Three years later the Second Inter-American Congress of Municipalities was held with great enthusiasm. (The third will be arranged as soon as travel conditions permit.)

At the time of the founding of the Pan-American Commission on Intermunicipal Cooperation in 1938, permanent and active organizations for intermunicipal cooperation on a national scale existed in the Western Hemisphere only in Canada, Cuba and the United States. Since then an association, league, union or federation of municipalities has been encouraged into functioning in seven more countries: Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico and Uruguay. National congresses of municipalities are being held in all of these ten countries with increasing regularity.

In those countries where no permanent organization has yet been established, the Pan-American Commission appoints an organizing committee to work toward that end, headed by people influential and versed in municipal administrative problems. Such fostering groups are at work in nine republics: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Costa Rica, Haiti, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay and Peru. Some of their success can be measured by the fact that in spite

of having no permanent organization, four of them—Argentina, Bolivia, Costa Rica and Nicaragua—have already celebrated national municipal congresses, and that Haiti, Honduras and Nicaragua already contribute to the maintenance of the commission.

Benefits to Cities

Intermunicipal cooperation, without being a panacea, can contribute to the solution of municipal problems by a steady interchange of information and experience. Small municipalities can benefit from the mistakes of larger cities, and the great urban centers have at their disposal the precedents furnished them by smaller towns. With this in mind the commission has begun to serve as a clearing house of information on problems of interest to municipal officials. To handle this important phase of its activities it carries on an increasing amount of correspondence with municipal officers, specialists and technicians, civic associations, etc., and receives visits from experts and students from all over America.

In the headquarters at Havana a library is being built up which is used more and more by students of municipal affairs. It is said to be unique in America in regard to its collection of publications in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French (the four languages of the Americas) on public administration and municipal affairs. Since the commission's budget has no provision for funds to purchase books, the library of over 6,000 volumes has been assembled entirely on the basis of exchange

plus constant and apparently effective begging.

The information received by the commission in books, letters, reports, articles, bulletins and through its multiple contacts, are sifted and organized, and much of it appears in a monthly publication in English and Spanish called the *Boletín, A Municipal Digest of the Americas*. In 1940, when it was started, one thousand copies of this magazine were printed and distributed free of charge to all North, Central and South American municipalities having a population of 50,000 or more; now, circulation has been increased to some 3,000 municipalities of the 30,000-or-higher class. In spite of paper shortages and lack of funds it is hoped soon to include all cities in the 10,000 population group and over, which will bring the distribution up to some 15,000 copies sent to cities from Alaska to Patagonia.

Numerous other magazines and periodicals devoted to municipal affairs are appearing like urban blossoms throughout the Pan-American landscape. Since 1938 municipalities in ten republics have started at least one new regular publication devoted to municipal affairs.

The influence of the movement has spread so conspicuously that courses in municipal government have been initiated in the Universities of Mexico and Guayaquil (Ecuador), and renewed in the University of Havana. Last year the secretary of the commission was successful in having a municipal section of the Inter-American Bar Association established, whereby the international aspect of municipal

legal affairs is recognized. Eventually, it is hoped to draw up an Inter-American Municipal Code, which should incorporate the best features of the Hispanic and Anglo-Saxon traditions of municipal administration.

Support for Commission

Perhaps one of the most fortunate evidences of the spreading eagerness to foster intermunicipal cooperation is shown by the fact that at the conclusion of the First Pan-American Congress of Municipalities in 1938 funds for the operation of the newly created secretariat and Board of Directors (the Pan-American Commission on Intermunicipal Cooperation) had to be advanced by the mayor of Havana. Later, in keeping with Havana's role in the initiation of the movement, the city of Havana made a permanent yearly grant to the commission. Two years ago the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs of the U. S. State Department made an annual grant-in-aid available, which has been renewed each year since. But during the 1944-45 fiscal year contributions of varying amounts were received from municipalities, associations or government agencies of thirteen different American nations.

With so many earnest demonstrations of interest in the movement, the Pan-American Commission is well on the way to being significantly useful as the American central clearing house of information on municipal administrative affairs, and

the fountainhead of energy and inspiration toward changing the whole outlook for cities and the welfare of all urban dwellers. The secretary is about to make a second extensive trip through South America, which, combined with the easing of demands occasioned by the war and the growing impulse for cooperation at all levels of government, should result in further progress of the movement in the immediate future. There is little doubt, now that the war is over, that there will be inaugurated a period of even closer collaboration with the International Union of Local Authorities, with a view to more than hemispheric intermunicipalism.

All over the world engineers, architects, physicians, lawyers—and even politicians—will soon start thinking expansively about municipal problems; civic organizations will boom everywhere, busy with postwar plans; more universities will start courses on municipal government and public administration; and more citizens will demand that the fruits of knowledge be applied for their benefit.

After some 2,400 years, it looks as if history may repeat itself and cities will come into their own again. Times will be friendly to cities and citizens, and men will travel democratically from town to town, visiting, trading, learning, sharing.

Whether nature takes its course, or whether it progresses by leaps, the future is full of promise for the golden age of cities.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Commission Studies Tennessee Constitution

Convention Suggested for Rewriting 1870 Document

THE constitution of the state of Tennessee, which has remained unchanged since it was ratified by a convention in 1870, is under study by a commission of seven members appointed by Governor Jim McCord in accordance with a resolution sponsored by him and passed by this year's legislature.

The commission is headed by William L. Frierson of Chattanooga, who was solicitor-general of the United States under Woodrow Wilson. The other six members—all lawyers—are Cecil Sims of Nashville, who is secretary, District Attorney-General Will Gerber of Memphis, Captain Mitchell Long of Knoxville, John Grey of Brownsville, Brad McGinness of Carthage, and Homer Goddard of Maryville, who is the only Republican.

At a meeting on September 17 in Nashville, following the initial session held in that city in May, the commission issued a formal statement which listed eight questions that were particularly under consideration.

These eight points are expressed as follows:

"1. Should the governor be elected for a term of four instead of two years? And if so what, if any, limit should be put on the number of successive elections for which he will be eligible?

"2. Should the treasurer and comptroller be elected for a term of four years, as in the case of the secretary of state, instead of two years as now?

And should these three officers be elected by the people instead of by the legislature?

"3. Is the present rule of succession to governorship in the event of the death or resignation of the governor satisfactory?

"4. Should a majority instead of two-thirds of the members of each house of the legislature be a quorum? At present one-third of the members can by absenting themselves prevent a majority from doing business.

"5. Should the compensation of members of the legislature be increased? If so should this be done by increasing the present per diem of four dollars or by paying fixed salaries?

"6. Should the requirement of the present constitution that a poll tax be levied and that the payment of this tax be a prerequisite to the right to vote be eliminated?

"7. What change should be made in the present provision for amendments to the constitution?

"8. The most difficult questions and the ones to which we are giving the most intensive study are, what should be the constitutional provisions related to the subjects of taxation and county and city governments?"

The method of revision has been the cause of much thought and discussion. If by amendments they would have to be approved by two sessions of the legislature and then by vote of the people. This would mean that no amendments could become effective before November 1950. A constitutional convention, however, could be voted on by the people soon after the 1947 legislature should decide on such action. Two successive popular elections are required, one on the question of holding a convention and the other to elect delegates. Another question is whether such a convention would be a general one, with power to revise the

entire constitution, or a limited one.

The Tennessee League of Women Voters, through Mrs. Tom Ragland, president, has urged the commission to recommend a convention, the abolition of the poll tax, more home rule for cities and counties, power to the legislature to establish a modern tax structure, and a more flexible amending process.

The final report of the commission is due not later than 60 days before the opening of the 1947 legislature.

Minnesota High Court Refuses Districting Aid

Legislative districts in Minnesota, which are still based on a 1913 apportionment act although the state constitution calls for redistricting every ten years, will not be changed by judicial action. The Minnesota Supreme Court, by a decision on September 21, unanimously declined to interfere with the legislature in this respect, although redistricting as specified in the highest law of the state is 22 years overdue.

The matter came before the court in the case of Jay W. Smith, a candidate for representative in the legislature, against Mike Holm, secretary of state and head of the state election administration.

Mr. Smith's district, the 33rd, in Minneapolis, is the largest in the state and has as many residents as fourteen Minnesota counties with five and a half times as many members of the legislature. He contended that his rights are prejudiced by the great disparity in population of the various districts and sought to void the 1913 apportionment act. He claimed that he would be elected illegally if chosen next year without a reapportionment, and so would all other members.

Mr. Smith had previously won a victory in the Ramsey County District

Court, when Judge Gustavus Loevinger overruled a demurrer of the state attorney-general, J. A. A. Burnquist, on behalf of Secretary Holm, to the effect that Smith could not properly sue, that the court was without jurisdiction and that the members of the legislature should have been named instead of Holm.

The Supreme Court relied heavily on the doctrine of division of powers between legislature, judiciary and executive. It considered that it had done its duty when it passed upon the 1913 act, which it did in 1914, finding it constitutional. It refused to adopt the reasoning that the 1913 act could today have become unconstitutional by change of circumstances, such as shifts of population and passage of time since reapportionment became theoretically mandatory under the constitution. It recognized the failure of the legislature to act but said, "Division of powers leaves the legislature free from compulsion. Its judgment and discretion are its own to exercise or not—as its conscience permits."

The failure to reapportion is due largely to refusal of legislators from rural districts to permit urban districts, some of which have grown far beyond their 1913 status, to have representation in proportion to their population. Some indications of willingness to go part way in that direction are reported.

Revision of the constitution by amendment to provide redistricting methods of automatic or enforceable character is being discussed—including advocacy of a constitutional convention to consider this and other matters.

Reorganization and Postwar Plans for South Carolina

Representing almost two years of

study by an administrative staff and ten months of research and analysis by technical specialists, a report to the governor and legislature of South Carolina was made public in printed form by the Preparedness for Peace Commission¹ of that state prior to its replacement this year by the Research, Planning and Development Board.

The commission, created by a 1942 act of the legislature, included three members appointed by the Senate president, three by the speaker of the House and 24 by the governor, who was *ex officio* chairman.

The new board, created by the legislature at the suggestion of the commission, consists of five members appointed by the governor with Senate approval; three are from specified districts. It supplants not only the Preparedness for Peace Commission but also eight other boards and commissions. It is attempting to carry out some of the recommendations and aims of the former commission; other phases and recommendations are pending before the legislature.

In 682 pages the report presents a mass of analytical data and detailed discussions and recommendations on three main subjects—organization and administration of the state government, taxation, and a peace time economy for the state. Technical research has been done by the Public Administration Service of Chicago.

In transmitting the report Roger C. Peace, chairman of the executive committee, stated that it had not been possible for the full commission to consider all the details of the report, but that a large majority of the recommendations made were so vital to the future progress and well-being of the state, in the opinion of the commission, that they should be passed

on to the legislature, with a recommendation that it appoint a joint committee to consider the report and submit proposed legislation based thereon.

State Reorganization

The proposed reorganization of the state government would simplify financial administration by eliminating six of the eleven separate agencies now engaged in that field and set up a department of finance headed by a director to be appointed by the governor on a merit basis; the director in turn would appoint and supervise the heads of three divisions—accounts and control, budget, and purchases and property. Existing financial agencies retained would be the comptroller-general and state treasurer (both being elective constitutional officers); finance committee (reconstituted to include, besides the governor, the heads of the financial committees of the Senate and House instead of the comptroller and treasurer); the tax commission, appointed by the governor (an administrative director thereto is recommended); and the tax board of review, appointed by the governor. A state commission on local government finance, to be appointed by the governor, and a department of that name headed by a director appointed by the commission, is also recommended.

Creation of a department of personnel management is recommended, to be headed by a director appointed by the governor from a list of qualified applicants submitted by a personnel advisory board of three members, appointed by the governor for staggered six-year terms. The board would also prescribe rules and regulations, pass upon classification and compensation plans submitted by the director and make investigations concerning the enforcement of proposed legislation for a state merit system.

¹See the REVIEW, May 1944, p. 251.

Other recommendations as to state organization include:

A department of industrial relations under a director appointed by the governor. It would supersede the state department of labor, the unemployment compensation commission and the industrial commission. Associated therewith would be an industrial relations board of three members appointed by the governor, to hear unemployment and workmen's compensation appeals and act as labor conciliators.

Reduction of the public service commission to three members appointed by the governor from the state at large, instead of seven members each appointed from a congressional district by the legislature; an administrative director to be appointed by the commission.

Reduction of the board of public welfare to five members appointed by the governor instead of seven appointed by the legislature from congressional districts.

A department of agriculture under a board of nine members appointed by the governor for three-year overlapping terms; elimination of the elective (constitutional) commissioner of agriculture.

A department of conservation and a state conservation commission of five members appointed by the governor; the commission to appoint a director. Four existing boards and the office of chief game warden would be abolished.

A highway commission of five members appointed by the governor, instead of the present commission of fourteen members chosen from judicial districts by local legislative delegations.

A department of public safety, with the director under the governor, to take over the state highway patrol,

the state constabulary and miscellaneous functions now in the departments of insurance and agriculture.

A five-member board of health under the governor instead of a committee of the state medical, pharmaceutical and dental associations plus the attorney-general and comptroller-general.

A survey of education in the state, and certain changes as to the state board of education, including appointment of the superintendent by the board instead of election by the voters as now constitutionally required.

Most of the changes are kept within the present constitution and six out of eight elective state officers are thus retained, but a constitutional convention for thorough revision is suggested.

Other Proposals

As to taxation, the repeal of various minor or nuisance taxes, the classification of property for taxation and improvements in assessment and collection methods are among the recommendations. It is urged that the legislature appoint a special joint interim committee, including lay members, to overhaul completely the tax structure and methods of its administration.

Recommendations concerning a peacetime economy include reform of the tenant farmer situation, improvement in rural living facilities, vocational education, regulation of hours, wages, child labor and labor unions, conservation of resources, state funds for aid in local public works planning, a health survey, extension of recreation areas, development of local industries, greater economic opportunity for the large Negro population (43 per cent), employment for veterans, development of power resources, etc. The work of the commission along these and other lines is continuing.

Fourteen Legislatures Aid State and Local Planning

In the recent sessions of 44 state legislatures planning commissions were established or authorized and other legislative aid given to state, regional and local planning, in fourteen states, according to the American Society of Planning Officials.

Legislation in Michigan calls for formation of regional planning commissions with boundaries comprising a homogeneous area, based on extent of urban development; existence of special agricultural, conservation or other rural problems; uniformity of social or economic interests; or the existence of regional planning problems. Regional planning commissions may accept aid from governmental agencies to accomplish their objectives.

Virginia also authorized the creation of regional planning commissions by the governing body of any municipality or county or any group of political subdivisions.

Arkansas established a fifteen-member state resources and development commission by consolidating eight existing state agencies.

Minnesota created a ten-member state resources commission. Also established by the Minnesota legislature was a postwar council to stimulate and initiate plans within the state to secure a high level of gainful employment.

A new state agency was set up by South Carolina to conduct a state-wide planning program and a state-wide program for the stimulation of economic activities. (See also page 504.)

Rhode Island established a non-partisan commission of ten members, to coordinate and execute postwar programs. Every postwar project proposed by the state planning board is to be submitted to the commission for investigation.

Creation of a state development commission by Vermont and a division of progress and industry by Washington completes the list of new state planning agencies. Massachusetts and New York also added to their existing planning legislation.

States passing laws about county planning were Colorado, Michigan, Minnesota and North Carolina. The Michigan law provides for the creation of a county planning commission to be composed of five to eleven members and representing the major interests of the county, such as agriculture, recreation, transportation, industry and commerce.

City planning laws were passed by California, Minnesota and Utah. The Utah law authorizes cities and towns to create planning commissions. The other laws provide for amending existing planning acts relating to cities.

More State Laws on Urban Redevelopment

Recent information from the American Society of Planning Officials raises to seventeen the number of states adopting urban redevelopment legislation this year instead of eleven as reported in this department in October (page 453). They are grouped as follows: (1) Colorado, Indiana, Maryland, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin gave power to carry out or supervise urban redevelopment to state or local governments; (2) California, Connecticut, Illinois and Michigan gave such power to both private enterprise and government (including public housing bodies); (3) Arkansas, Florida and Tennessee made housing authorities responsible for supervision of redevelopment; (4) Alabama, Massachusetts and Minnesota gave private enterprise sole responsibility.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Voters of the city of **Old Town, Maine**, have approved a council-manager charter previously enacted by the state legislature subject to a popular referendum on September 10, 1945. It takes effect January 7, 1946, election of the council to be held previously on December 10. The council will consist of seven members elected at large, with staggered three-year terms, and will appoint the city manager, city attorney, school board, water district trustees and associate members of the board of registration; other appointments are made by the manager. Elective officials are merely the council, and a warden and ward clerk chosen by the voters of each of five wards established for election purposes.

Fairfield, Maine, on October 15, ratified by a vote of 251 to 21 an act of the 1945 legislature to give it the town manager plan.

Orient and Reed Plantation, both in Maine, have recently been placed on the official city manager list of the International City Managers' Association. The present manager of Reed Plantation is also manager of three other towns.

A committee has been appointed by the town meeting in **Lebanon, New Hampshire**, to study the town manager plan.

The Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court on October 8 upheld by a four-to-one vote the decision of Justice Daniel F. Imrie that the petition to abolish the manager plan in **Schenectady**, filed by the so-called People's League for Government—American Style, was insufficient and illegal. Permission was granted to carry the case to the Court of Appeals.

Voters of **Beckley, West Virginia**, on October 2 approved a charter commission. Strong sentiment for the council-manager plan is reported.

A citizens' committee for the city manager form of government, composed of representatives of civic organizations in **Sarasota, Florida**, has held several meetings to organize a campaign for the manager plan to be voted on in November. Representatives of twenty organizations were present at the first meeting.

Corbin, Kentucky, will vote in November on adoption of the manager plan or retention of the commission plan.

The Rotary Club of **Nevada, Missouri**, recently held a discussion of the manager plan, which under the new Missouri constitution could be adopted by a majority vote at an election called pursuant to a petition of 25 per cent of the number of votes cast at the last general city election.

Spanish Fork, Utah, will vote in November on the question of obtaining a new charter. The city clerk has expressed interest in the manager plan collecting documents describing it.

Voters of **Corpus Christi, Texas**, on October 6 approved charter amendments changing the city government from the commission to the manager plan. The unofficial vote on the amendment establishing the office of city manager was 3,236 to 1,887. Only five precincts out of 21 gave majorities against the change. Six other amendments, all of which were adopted, give the manager authority to renegotiate contracts, to appoint members of the Zoning and Planning Commission and city employees; they also provide for a park board, for an industrial and airport board and for extension of the city limits by vote of the people in the city.

In **Pittsburg, Texas**, a Committee for Civic Improvement has been organized to petition for an election on the manager plan and conduct a vigorous campaign in its behalf.

A charter commission in **Greenville**,

Texas, is studying various forms of city government, including the council-manager plan.

Interest in making a change from the commission plan to the council-manager plan is developing in **Cisco, Texas**.

The *Evening Outlook* of **Santa Monica, California**, is engaged in an effort to bring about charter reform in that city, which now has the commission plan. It is particularly interested in the council-manager plan.

Kansas Municipal Electric Plants Serve Farms

City-owned utilities in Kansas supplied 3,835 of the 42,571 electrified farms of that state in 1944, an increase of 214 over 1943. Ninety-seven city-owned utilities reported farm customers in 1944 compared with 94 in 1943.

Only 43 city-owned electric systems reported no farm customers. Twelve city systems reported rural electrification associations as wholesale customers. City-owned utilities are planning expansion of their facilities in response to demands from rural customers, notably the plants in Coffeyville, Chanute, Holton, Osawatomie and Horton.

The city-owned lines in rural areas averaged 3.6 farm customers per mile in 1944, compared with 2.8 in 1943. These farm customers used an average of 1,099 kilowatt hours per year for which they paid 4.4 cents per kilowatt hour. In 1943 only 855 kilowatt hours were used at an average cost of 5.4 cents per kilowatt hour.

REA cooperatives served 17,636 electrified farms in 1944, an increase of almost 1,500 in one year. Privately-owned utilities supplied 21,100 farms with electricity, an increase of 520, as reported by the State Corporation Commission.

Of the 126,738 occupied farms in Kansas, in 1944, 33.6 per cent are now electrified, compared with 29.6 per cent in 1943.

JOHN G. STUTZ, *Executive Director* League of Kansas Municipalities

Researcher's Digest

GRA Announces New Program

President Gravlin Lists Aims, Publication Plans

WRITING in the first number of *GRA Notes and References*, Leslie M. Gravlin, president of the **Governmental Research Association** and director of the Hartford Governmental Research Institute, comments on the association's new and enlarged program approved by its Board of Trustees for 1945-1946.

The September issue of *Notes and References* inaugurates a new publication to appear monthly. This will be a four-page professional bulletin featuring a lead article on a current topic in the field, a Washington news column summarizing federal legislation and national activities affecting local and state government, a section on activities of research organizations, as well as a column on individual professional activities. *Special Bulletin Series*, an information sheet, will be issued as occasion requires.

A new edition of the *GRA Directory* will be available early in 1946. Two special publications are in process: A twelve-page pamphlet describing the purposes, history and work of the GRA and another to be titled *How to Organize a Citizen Research Agency*. Material for the latter has been gathered from the experiences of GRA members.

The organization is concerned over ways and means of developing a "supply of trained men and women for the citizen research movement," says Mr. Gravlin. It is looking into the possibilities of collaborating with schools of government and public administration and is planning a series of regional

conferences, to be attended by representatives of the GRA and faculty members of colleges and universities, to "acquaint the latter more fully with the constructive purposes of agencies such as those represented in the GRA, in order to make careers in citizen research as appealing as those in other sciences, professions and businesses." Consideration is being given to sponsorship of "resident fellowships" to be awarded to outstanding candidates for advanced degrees in government and public administration.

The office of the GRA is building a research library. It seeks ultimately to become a clearing house for research and statistical information desired by its membership. A program for the establishment of field contacts is being prepared by the secretary, who hopes to visit each agency. Other GRA officials plan visits to organizations in their regions.

An Economic Survey of the Los Angeles Area

The **John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation**, concerned with the problems of the Los Angeles region and with the development of plans to make it a better place in which to live and work, has published *An Economic Survey of the Los Angeles Area*.¹ Authors of the study are Frank L. Kidner, director of the Bureau of Business and Economic Research, University of California in Berkeley, and Dr. Philip Neff, research economist. Miss Anne M. Mumford, executive secretary of the foundation, is a member of its Economic Committee which assisted the authors.

The study covers the development of the Los Angeles economy, regional economic specialization in 1940, prewar trends in the community's economy,

the effects of the war on its economy, postwar employment, comparative stability of the community, and implications and policy.

Annual Legislative Sessions

This fall Connecticut voters were asked to decide whether the state's legislative sessions should be changed from a five-month session every two years to an approximately three-months period every year. The **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, Inc.**, Carter W. Atkins, executive director, devoted one issue of *Your State and Local Government—News and Views* to a discussion of the pros and cons of annual sessions. Criticizing the legislature for its failure to improve legislative procedure, the council comments that "anyone who votes for the proposed amendment should at the same time commit himself to full use of his influence to bring about those reforms in our legislative procedure which with annual sessions would be more imperatively needed than ever."

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Why Not Cooperation?

"The proposed 21 per cent over-all tax rate increase for 1946 warrants joint budget action," claims the **Citizens Bureau of Milwaukee**. The bureau, whose new executive director is Norman N. Gill, points out that the five governing bodies which determine Milwaukee's local tax rate — Milwaukee Common Council, Milwaukee Board of School Directors, Board of Vocational and Adult Education, County Board of Supervisors and the Metropolitan Sewerage Commission—have never sat down together to discuss their expenditures. It suggests that joint invitations from Mayor John L. Bohn and County Board Chairman Lawrence J. Timmerman would initiate this procedure. The bureau points out that the five governments have had two experiences re-

¹Haynes Foundation, Los Angeles, 1945. 151 pp. \$2.

cently in joint action on a uniform cost of living adjustment in all salaries and a uniform-wage schedule submitted by a joint committee.

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Philadelphia Problems Studied

The **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research** has received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for a study of police administration in that city in relation to Negroes. Research on the project is under the direction of Dr. Thorsten Sellin, of the Sociology Department at the University of Pennsylvania, who will be assisted by Dr. G. Gordon Brown, formerly of Temple University.

The bureau is also investigating the probable future costs of all city operations, including debt service, for the Philadelphia City Planning Commission. Bruce Smith and Dr. Carl E. McCombs, of the Institute of Public Administration, and Robert E. Pickup, executive director of the Providence Governmental Research Bureau, are assisting Dr. William C. Beyer, director of the bureau, and his staff.

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Sad Financial Picture

"Financial recovery lags in Boston," says the **Boston Municipal Research Bureau** in a recent bulletin. While other cities "have cleaned up their deficits, balanced their budgets, and are now able to show an operating surplus," Boston still has an unbalanced budget and has failed to eliminate its deficit. "Boston's failure to achieve financial recovery under the stimulus of war economy makes for an uneasiness over the postwar outlook," claims the bureau. "An unbalanced budget, a persistent deficit and an excessive tax rate all contribute to financial weakness and uncertainty."

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Subway Riders Pay Dividends

"The city is receiving a greatly in-

creased rental from the Broad Street Subway as a result of the two-cent rental payable for each passenger in excess of 52 million a year," reports *Citizens' Business* of the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research**. Basic yearly rental for the subway—built by the city and leased to private operators—is \$900,000; rental for 1945 (year ended June 30) amounted to \$2,282,586.

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Police in Rhode Island

The latest report in a series issued by the **Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council**, Robert M. Goodrich, executive director, deals with *Law Enforcement in Rhode Island*. It was prepared by Bruce Smith of the Institute of Public Administration, which organization has been conducting a survey of governmental affairs in Rhode Island for the council.

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Taxing Intangibles

"The Rate and Base of the Intangibles Tax and Missouri's Economic Future," is discussed by the **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute** in its bulletin *Mind Your Business*. Victor D. Brannon, assistant director, is in charge of bureau affairs in the absence of Director Charlton F. Chute, on leave.

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Salaries

The **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations**, Norman MacDonald, executive director, has issued its compilation of *Municipal Salaries in Massachusetts 1944* (31 pages). Tables cover salaries in cities, in towns over 5,000, in towns under 5,000, salary adjustments for 1943, 1944 and 1945, and a cost of living index.

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Grants-in-Aid

The **Bureau of Business Research of Pennsylvania State College** has published *State Grants-in-Aid* (41 pp.), prepared by Randall S. Stout, instructor in economics at the college.

Teachers and Schools

"Relationship of Teachers' Salaries to School Improvement," is the subject of the September 27 issue of the **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research's** *City Problems* (6 pp.). The bulletin was prepared by staff members Lennox L. Moak, executive director, Harlan W. Gilmore and Val C. Morgen-sen.

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Checking the Budget

The **Bureau of Municipal Research of Des Moines**, of which Glenn N. Hoffman is secretary, has been studying the proposed 1946 budget of the city's four taxing bodies — city, county, schools and hospital. It has submitted a number of proposed changes.

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Public Works

"Public Works and Private Housing" are discussed by the **Duluth Governmental Research Bureau** in its September bulletin. Harry Reed is executive secretary.

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Public Utilities

"Future Management of Three City-Owned Utilities" is the subject of a four-page mimeographed study made by the **Municipal League of Seattle**, C. A. Crosser, executive secretary. The study is informational only.

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Stream Pollution

"The abatement of stream pollution is probably the most expensive, technical and involved enterprise that Pennsylvania municipalities have ever been called upon to undertake and finance," says the **Pennsylvania Economy League**, Western Division, in its latest publication, *Stream Pollution Abatement as It Concerns Political Subdivisions in Pennsylvania* (16 pp. mimeo.). The bulletin deals more specifically with municipalities in Allegheny County. The league's *Newsletter* for September 1945 is a digest of the larger study.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

'Get Out the Vote' Campaigns Conducted

*Flyers and Rallies Are
Used to Offset Apathy*

BUSY as the proverbial bee were local civic groups throughout the nation as election day approached. In New York State alone dozens of citizen organizations strove to overcome the "off-year" apathy of the voters and secure a large registration and vote.

One of the most active of these groups was the **New York League of Women Voters**. Both state and local organizations, though strictly non-partisan, exerted every effort to educate the voter and "get out the vote."

"The Big Three for Good Government" was a four-page flyer which the **New York City League of Women Voters** distributed in apartment houses, at meetings and on street corners. The "Big Three" were REGISTER in your election district, ENROLL in a political party and VOTE intelligently. The flyer listed voting requirements and methods, described the proportional representation system of election by which the city selects its Council, gave pros and cons on the six constitutional amendments and one proposition on the ballot with its recommendations where such had been made. Its last page listed the city officers to be chosen with their duties, terms and salaries. (The league makes no recommendations on candidates.)

The **Metropolitan Evening League of Women Voters**, the business and professional women's group in the New York City League, devoted its October meeting to an airing of the views of

the three political groups contesting the city election. Questions on such pertinent matters as the five-cent fare, education, housing, social welfare, veterans, were asked of representatives of the candidates with the audience participating in the discussion. The meeting was held jointly with the **American Women's Association**.

Prior to the primary election, the **Buffalo League of Women Voters** conducted a street corner interview. Thirty-five per cent of those questioned said they had never voted in a primary. The same percentage intimated they did not intend to vote this year. The **Geneva League** as well as other local leagues throughout the state distributed election flyers at street corners. The **Rensselaer County League** had the mayor, assemblymen, and county chairmen of all parties as guests at a dinner meeting where the county chairmen spoke and answered questions.

The **Citizens Union of New York City**, whose secretary is George H. Hallett, Jr., distributed a hundred thousand copies of its *Voters Directory*, which lists all candidates in the city election, describes their records and qualifications, declares some endorsed qualified and preferred, or qualified.

The **Long Beach (New York) Citizens Union**, of which Albert A. Arditti is chairman, has endorsed five candidates for the first Council under the council-manager plan which goes into effect January 1. The union has been publishing a column in the weekly *Long Island Independent* in which it has endeavored to acquaint citizens with the principles of the council-manager plan and to stress the need for a capable council to appoint the first city manager and get the city off to a good start. Featured in the column were directions on how to vote the P. R. ballot since proportional repre-

sentation will be used—for the first time—to elect the council.

The **Hamilton County (Ohio) Good Government League** distributed widely a postal card containing directions for registering. The subject for its pre-election luncheon was "Where Is Cincinnati Going? Forward or Back?"

The **Cincinnati City Charter Committee**, of which Forest Frank is executive director, supported a list of candidates for the city council, as it has done ever since the manager plan was adopted in that city. One feature of its election campaign was a "Presentation Luncheon for the Charter Candidates." Another was a series of broadcasts by its candidates.

One of the many activities of the **Citizens League of Detroit**, led by its executive secretary, William P. Lovett, was the placing of its representatives in city election booths as watchers.

The **Citizens League of Cleveland**, whose new director is John E. Bebout, issued its 47th annual report on candidates, published a list of voting requirements and listed places of registration for Cleveland and its suburban communities.

The **Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh)** has issued the 25th edition of its *Voters Directory*, this year jointly with the **Allegheny County League of Women Voters**.

County Civic Groups Seek Home Rule Charter

Banding together to secure a new charter for Buchanan County under the provisions of the new Missouri constitution, some 50 civic groups of the county and St. Joseph are circulating petitions to place the election of a charter commission on the ballot. G. Keyes Page, executive secretary of the **St. Joseph Citizens Good Government Association**, reports that the

necessary 7,500 signatures to the petitions are fast being secured.

That association was the original sponsor of the movement, sending letters to all civic groups in the community seeking their cooperation. According to Mr. Page the response was "gratifying and indicative of a very real public interest in the possible benefits of home rule to the county." Blanket endorsements and, in most cases, a valuable contribution in man and woman hours, have been received from the League of Women Voters, Senior and Junior Chambers of Commerce, Central Labor Council (A. F. of L.), Ministerial Alliance of the Council of Churches, Parent and Teachers Councils of both St. Joseph and Buchanan County (with 53 affiliated units), Rotary, Kiwanis and Lions Clubs, Buchanan County Farm Bureau, St. Joseph Real Estate Board, American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Business and Professional Women's Club, Women's Division of the Chamber of Commerce, American Association of University Women, Junior League, St. Joseph Chapter of the Missouri State Teachers Association, and approximately 25 other local clubs and civic groups.

A county-wide **Advisory Committee**, composed of representatives from these organizations, will act not only in securing signatures to the necessary petitions but throughout the deliberations of the commission and the campaign for adoption of a charter.

The local press, including two dailies, a weekly journal of predominantly rural circulation and a labor publication, is solidly behind the movement.

The Citizens Good Government Association is sponsoring two county government essay contests—one for the high school students of the city schools and an identical but separate one for

students in rural high schools. Three prizes will be awarded in each contest: first prize will be a \$100 victory bond, second a \$50 victory bond, and third a cash award of \$10.

Education on the Manager Plan

Following through on its *Report to the Citizens*, a survey of the government of the city,¹ the **Augusta (Georgia) Citizens Union** has published a four-page appendix supplementing the report's recommendation for adequate executive authority either through a mayor or a manager with, "the weight of evidence" in favor of "the latter solution." The appendix lists questions and answers on the manager plan and gives references on additional material.

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Reapportionment Again

In announcing its dinner meeting on "The Needed Change in Representation in the State Senate," the **Los Angeles Municipal League** comments: "For a long time we have heard the cry, Los Angeles County has one senator for 35 per cent of the state's population. Two senators represent the majority of the population in California and 38 senators represent the other half. Is this democracy?"

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Civil Service

The **Citizens' Civil Service Association of Illinois**, in a release entitled "Civil Service in the 64th General Assembly," finds that "the idea of qualification and training as requisites for appointment to civil service in Illinois received scant consideration." A brief summary of the legislation introduced is presented.

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Merit Rating

In the hope that a rating system can be installed under the Personnel Com-

¹Made by Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed for the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League.

mission, to be used in connection with the 1946 city budget, the **Springfield** (Massachusetts) **Taxpayers Association**, Henry W. Connor, executive director, has prepared a plan of municipal salary increases based on merit ratings. The city adopted a centralized personnel plan several years ago. Positions have been classified and minimum and maximum salaries established for them. A rating plan would provide an equitable method of raising salaries on a merit basis.

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Public Works

Now that the state may proceed with plans for much needed new buildings, as well as the rehabilitation of present ones, the **Missouri Public Expenditure Survey**, Edward Staples, executive director, has suggested to the General Assembly the need for discarding the old haphazard method of providing building funds, with department heads competing for available funds, in favor of a modern, businesslike plan. It has suggested that the following considerations be made:

1. That great care be exercised to determine that every building project undertaken actually is needed;

2. That provisions be made for over-all long range plans to meet the state's building needs from the standpoint of the state as a whole;

3. That a system of priorities be set up to determine which building projects come first.

4. That the state receive a full dollar's worth of value for every dollar spent;

5. That sound provisions be set up for maintenance.

All of its members and a 50 per cent cross-section of the city have been questioned by the **Denison** (Texas) **Chamber of Commerce** regarding their views on the chamber's suggestion for

a city program of public works. The questionnaire listed a number of proposed civic improvements with a place for a "yes" or "no" vote, then provided space for three additional suggestions. Returns were made by 532 persons, 98 per cent of whom favored some kind of a city plan. In addition to rating eight items in the order of their preference, these persons suggested nearly two thousand additional proposals. The chamber comments that "many of the suggestions touched on phases of community life that might otherwise have been overlooked and that we are justified in classifying as excellent."

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What Is a "Civic Club"?

The **U. S. Chamber of Commerce** seeks from its local chambers, for "a fellow-manager," a definition of "civic club." "What is it in your city?", it asks.

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A Junior State

Patterning their organization after a state government, the **Junior State of Altgeld Gardens**, a public housing project in Chicago, has elected a state assembly, governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state and treasurer. Also chosen at the polls were commissioners of music, arts, dancing, athletics, woodcraft, newspaper and labor. Representation in the assembly is based on the arts and crafts interests of the citizens.

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Program for Action

An ambitious program of studies by committees is being carried out by the **Citizens' League of Port Huron**, of which Miss Margaret Elliott is executive secretary. Among matters to be studied and reported on are garbage and sewage disposal plant, county health unit, taxes and assessments of both city and county, city planning, recreation program, water works, county roads and the police, fire and

sheriff departments. Results of the studies will be reported in the League's publication, *The Citizen*, and by way of public forums and the radio.

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A Chairman Reports

The annual report of Albert A. Arditti as chairman of the **Long Beach** (New York) **Citizens Union**, covering the organization's first three years, presents an amazing array of accomplishments, culminating in the securing of charter amendments to provide the manager plan and proportional representation for the election of the council.

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New Organizations

The **Illinois League of Women Voters** reports the birth of two new local leagues—in Thornton Township and Hancock County (Carthage). Two new college leagues have also been added to the list—Mundelein College and the University of Illinois.

The **St. Clair Flats Association** and the **Harsen Island Improvement Association**, both in existence for over 25 years, have merged into a new group to be known as the **Harsen-Island-St. Clair Flats Association**. The new group, which covers a community located about 50 miles from Detroit, is mapping out a program of community benefits for which it will work. Ninety per cent of its members are summer residents only.

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Strictly Personal

The Seattle Municipal League pays tribute to the memory of **James A. Haight**, well known attorney and civic leader, who died recently at the age of 86. Mr. Haight was one of the incorporators of the league in 1914 and served two terms as president, in 1913 and in 1923. Ten years later the league made him an honorary life member.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

France Uses P. R. in Paris and National Elections

*Norway Revives Its Use
Mons. Ryan, Friend of P. R.*

THE first postwar national elections held throughout France on October 21 to set up a constituent assembly were by a party list system of proportional representation. The municipal elections in Paris on April 28 were also under this system, though the municipal and departmental elections elsewhere in France were held on the old plan of plurality elections with a second balloting when no one received a clear majority at the first.

The national and Paris elections were the first public elections ever held in France under a true system of P. R. From 1919 to 1927 the French Chamber of Deputies was elected by a system improperly called P. R., whose principal effects were those of the majority system though it did assign some seats to minorities when no ticket polled an absolute majority. Just before the war the Chamber had voted to adopt P. R. but the decision was never acted on by the upper house or put into effect.

The much publicized dispute between General DeGaulle and certain labor and leftist leaders as to the method to be used in this first parliamentary election since the country's liberation was not concerned with the principle of P. R., which was accepted by both sides, but with certain details of the system. The leftists wanted the fractions of quotas of votes left unused in the several districts added up over the whole country for the assignment

of additional seats to nation-wide lists, as in Czechoslovakia, so as to make the total representation of parties almost exactly proportional. The plan actually used made the fairest possible distribution of seats to parties within large districts considered separately, which is the usual procedure.

The voter was given no choice of individual candidates, such as he has in many list system countries, but had to accept the order of nomination on the petitions of the list he chose to vote for. If a party won three seats in a district, the first three candidates on its list as nominated were elected.

We go to press too early to give the results of the national elections. The results of the municipal council elections in Paris were summarized by *Free France* as follows:

Parties	Councilmen Elected	in 1935
Communist	27	8
Popular Democrat	13	3
Republican Democratic Union	13	18
Socialist	12	5
Resistance	8	—
Radical Socialist	6	5
Democratic Alliance	4	20
Independent Socialist	1	—
Miscellaneous candidates	6	—

Nine women were among the councilmen chosen.

These first P. R. elections were held under decrees of the provisional government. The constituent assembly just elected will determine whether the use of P. R. will be continued and extended to other elections.

A P. R. Election in Norway

Norway appears to have been the first of the Allied countries over-run by Germany to hold a national election

since its liberation. It elected its parliament on October 8 by a party list system of P. R. similar to the one in use before the war. The last previous election had been in 1936.

Last June Norway's four major parties—Labor, Conservative, Liberal and Farmer—issued a common program to serve as a basis of cooperation in the rebuilding of Norway, stressing economic cooperation as the keynote. They agreed, nevertheless, to present separate lists of candidates and to remain free to express differences on matters not covered in the program.

The results, still not quite complete, as reported by the Norwegian desk of the Office of War Information and the Norwegian Consulate in New York, were as follows:

ELECTIONS OF NORWEGIAN STORTING

(One-Chamber Parliament)

Party	1945	1936
Labor	76	70
Conservative	26	36
Liberal	21	23
Communist	11	0
Farmer	10	18
Christian People	6	2
Others	0	1
Total	150	150

With a considerable shifting of sentiment, because of the experiences of the country during the war, the changes were not exaggerated as they often are in plurality elections and every large group of voters received substantial representation. The Labor party won a bare majority of the seats. The large basis of agreement already reached with three of the other parties should make an effective government reasonably simple.

P. R. elections for municipal councils have been scheduled for November 19.

Other liberated countries which will probably soon be reviving the use of P. R. for national elections include Czechoslovakia, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium and Austria. Finland has already held a national P. R. election, as reported in this department in May.

Monsignor John A. Ryan

Monsignor John A. Ryan, former professor of moral theology at the Catholic University and Trinity College in Washington, D. C., who died at the age of 76 on September 18, was not only a pioneer in the field of minimum wage legislation and one of the foremost leaders of his church and the nation in the whole field of social reform, but an enlightened exponent of the principles and machinery of democratic government. He was a member of the Advisory Council of the Proportional Representation League from 1925 till the time of his death.

When P. R. was under attack in Cleveland in 1925 he sent the following statement, which was used effectively in that year's successful defense campaign:

"The news that an attempt will be made to repeal the P. R. provisions of the Cleveland city charter distresses but does not surprise me. Such a move was to be expected from the political bosses and other representatives of powerful special interests. P. R. is the fairest method of electing officials that has yet been devised, for it enables every minority, indeed every voter, to exercise some influence in the choice of officials. Particularly surprising will it be if the wage earners or the groups that suffer from racial or religious intolerance shall be misled into voting away any advantages that they can enjoy under proportional representation. I cannot believe that they will thus betray their dearest interests."

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Agriculture Department Studies Rural Debt

Ohio County Survey Is First of Similar Reports on States

THE Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, has issued a report (mimeographed, 46 pp.) entitled, *Local Government Debt in Rural Counties of Ohio*. It is a study of 46 rural counties of the state, and it covers the period from 1910 to 1942. It was undertaken as a "pilot" study with the expectation that similar studies of other states would follow.

The subject matter of the report is restricted to a consideration of the indebtedness of all local governmental units providing services to farms and farm communities. The interrelationships of public borrowing to other aspects of local finance, such as expenditures and taxes, are secondary to the major purpose of the study.

Mr. A. H. Tostlebe, author of the report, discovered that gross public indebtedness in the 46 counties rose from \$9,000,000 in 1910 to a peak of almost \$56,000,000 in 1924, representing a per capita increase from \$8.01 to \$51. By 1942, however, it had decreased to \$19,000,000, or \$17.11 per capita. From 1910 to 1930 county and township borrowing was primarily for the purpose of road improvement, while the rapid increase in school district indebtedness occurred during the decade following 1914 as a result of the movement for school consolidation. After 1930 most borrowing was for welfare and refunding, but township debt practically disappeared.

The author observed that expansion of local government credit frequently occurred in postwar periods and was especially noticeable after the Civil War and World War I. Excesses in expenditures as part of the resulting "boom" contributed in part to the subsequent collapse of credit and the depression.

Wiser policies are recommended by the author for the present postwar period. "Through foresight and planning, the construction of new public facilities may be timed so that in many instances the borrowing and spending connected therewith will benefit the general economy, and so that the local community will benefit as well in lower costs of loans and of the facilities they finance. In recent years the desirability has been emphasized of timing public works so that the bulk of them can be financed and built when private industry is least active. To the extent that this can be done it helps to regularize employment and markets."

Federal Aid May Strengthen County Highway Departments

In the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944, the magazine *Better Roads* sees an opportunity for county highway departments to strengthen their position materially. In the first place, the act specifically requires that appropriate local officials shall be consulted in the selection of federal-aid secondary system roads. The Public Roads Administration permits the details regarding such consultation to be arranged as best suits the needs of the states. The states remain the sole points of contact of the Public Roads Administration.

Inquiry by the magazine indicated that apparently county officials actually were being consulted in most cases. A survey of thirteen representative

counties revealed, however, that most plans were in early preliminary stages. Nevertheless, it showed that a rather wide variation in kinds of work was contemplated. Some counties planned to raise the grades on trunk routes, some to replace bridges, and some to provide for a gravel-surfaced road as a minimum for every rural home. The officials of the thirteen counties expressed varied opinions as to the effectiveness of the program in their communities in providing employment in the immediate postwar period.

Jefferson County Consolidation Study Progresses

The proposal to establish an investigating committee to consider governmental consolidation in Jefferson County, Alabama, has been enacted into law.¹ Appointments to the commission now are being made by the county and by the cities of Birmingham and Bessemer. Representatives of various patriotic, educational, professional, industrial and labor organizations in the county will be represented on the committee as specified in the act.

Texas Counties to Acquire Abandoned Army Airfields

The state of Texas has established machinery whereby its counties, as well as its municipalities, may acquire airfields as they are abandoned by the Army. Assistance in the acquisition of such fields will be one of the major objectives of the newly-created State Aeronautics Commission. It will assist counties and municipalities also in financing and locating new airfields and in receiving and distributing any federal funds available for such purposes.

¹See the REVIEW, September 1945, p. 421.

County Road Legislation Surveyed

The Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944 has stimulated a number of states to modify their highway laws in order to qualify to receive the grants.

Better Roads, a magazine devoted to highway improvement, has conducted a survey of highway legislation in the 44 state legislatures which met in regular session in 1945. Its published findings reveal that a substantial number of states reported that no additional legislation was necessary. Many states, however, passed amending legislation. Much of the legislation affected county and township highway construction activities.

Five states permitted their local units to levy additional taxes to match federal funds. Kansas, in addition, authorized counties to issue road bonds up to 2 per cent of the county's taxable valuation if approved by 60 per cent of the voters. Adjustments in the amount or method of distribution of highway funds to counties and townships were made in a dozen or more states. Several states enacted legislation which shifted additional road mileage from township to county and from county to state highway systems. Two states authorized counties to use state highway machinery for construction and emergency purposes.

Maryland enacted the broadest authorization to its subdivisions in regard to highways: "The counties, the city of Baltimore, and the cities, municipalities, towns, special taxing areas and other state and local subdivisions of government in the state of Maryland are hereby authorized and empowered to do any and all acts and things necessary to comply with the terms, conditions and provisions [of the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944]." The subdivisions were empowered to borrow without regard to the

debt limits and to tax in addition to taxing powers theretofore conferred.

Missouri Counties Continue Self-Analysis

Numerous Missouri counties are continuing to conduct surveys and to engage in other activities in efforts to improve their governmental structure and procedures.

The charter commission of St. Louis County, which is engaged in drafting a home rule charter for that county, has requested the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis to conduct the necessary research.

In Buchanan County an Advisory Committee,¹ composed of representatives of some 50 endorsing groups, is campaigning for the appointment of a commission to draft a county home rule charter under the provisions of the new Missouri constitution. The group is circulating petitions to place the question on the ballot.

In cooperation with the University of Denver, analytical studies of county administration and finance have been completed in Pettis, Pemiscot, Cape Girardeau, and Marion Counties, Missouri. These studies were conducted by University of Denver graduate students specializing in government.

Jasper County, in cooperation with the Jasper County Tax Economy Association, has installed modernized tax accounting and collection procedures. Identified as the first major revision of tax accounting and collection procedures since the county was organized, the improvements anticipated include (1) savings of \$3,000 to \$5,000 annually, (2) increased speed and accuracy in preparing tax records, (3) better service to the taxpayer, and (4) generally improved property tax administration.

¹See also p. 513 this issue.

Taxation and Finance*Edited by Wade S. Smith*

**Local Units Mark Time
on Public Works*****Await Action by Congress
on Its Federal Aid Policy***

WHEN this column for last month was prepared, the Congress had just reconvened and aside from the President's message there was little indication of what cooperation the state and local governments might expect from Washington to meet their reconversion problems. During the month little of an encouraging nature has developed, and the majority of localities with "postwar plans" are still marking time, waiting for clarification of federal policy on a number of fundamentals affecting local action.

It must be recalled that two considerations underlie most of the local postwar programs: First, to provide in advance the detailed specifications etc. for sorely needed local improvements whose acquisition was necessarily deferred during the war period; and second, through this public construction to help "take up the slack" in employment during the reconversion period, when private employers would necessarily face inevitable delays.

The plans were prepared not only to lay the spectre but actually to prevent the development of large-scale unemployment and its attendant losses, misery and unproductive governmental expenditures. And most important of all, they were intended to fit into a national program for caring for postwar unemployment, although many of the local planners were solely handicapped by lack of knowledge of what the national program would be and

some of them foresaw that their work could be nullified by delays at the national level.

As things are developing, there is reason to believe that local public works programs may be of extremely limited use in "taking up the slack" in employment for the simple reason that they cannot be carried into operation soon enough. And they cannot be carried into operation because federal cooperation has not been forthcoming. Federal assistance in the preparation of local public works plans is late in coming and on a niggardly scale, only \$17,500,000 having been provided to date as compared with \$500,000,000 requested. Further, the timing of the local projects has been hindered by federal inaction.

Unemployment insurance was largely counted on to provide a brief breathing spell before the need for public employment reached serious proportions, and an orderly exodus of displaced war workers was at least hoped for if not generally expected. The Congress appears to have postponed indefinitely further consideration of liberalization of unemployment benefits, although there is some prospect of federal allotments to war workers for carfare home.

Equally serious, the financing of postwar public works is still up in the air. A few localities, it is true, drafted their plans with the expectation that the local unit would bear 100 per cent of the cost; most places, however, expected that a part of the financing would be assumed by the federal government, and this has been particularly true of those plans which were large enough to exert the most influence on the over-all employment picture. Except for the implementation of the \$1,500,000,000 highway aid bill, which had already been promised, the Congress has as yet done nothing

about providing federal aid for local public works construction. Obviously, to the extent that federal participation is withheld, the scope of local programs will be reduced, and there will be that much less of public works.

Other Obstacles

Even were the localities prepared to start their programs without knowing how much federal aid will be forthcoming, there are other obstacles. There are, for one thing, obvious uncertainties besetting a city considering issuing its bonds to meet construction costs. Decreases in federal income taxes are admittedly going to operate to increase somewhat local borrowing costs, since the benefits of tax exemption of local bonds will be diminished in proportion as tax rates are cut. Is the reduction going to be four percentage points, however, or a 20 per cent slash "across the board"? Will the cut be more or less than investors have already anticipated and hence already reflected in borrowing costs? Finance officers can guess at this one, or can decide to wait.

Similarly, uncertainty as to federal policies on wages and hours introduces delays, as does the confused situation respecting materials. Even were the bonds sold and the cash in hand, there is no assurance that contractors can make firm bids under present conditions.

All these circumstances point up in delays and focus attention increasingly on the Congress. Obviously, the time is past for a thoroughly constructive program at the national level which would utilize to the full the tremendous capabilities of the local governments in facilitating national reconversion. The most that can be hoped for now is a speedy clarification of national policy so that the localities can tell immediately how much of their planning can

be saved and how much must be junked. And there is now the very real prospect that much of the war-conserved assets, accumulated in "surpluses" reserved for "deferred maintenance" and "postwar contingencies" may have to be diverted to direct relief during the coming months, while reserves for capital improvements are frittered away in "make work" emergency employment projects.

That was not the way it was "planned" by local government, but it is now increasingly clear that planning is at least as "total" as war, and the refusal of Congress to plan, dramatized by its abolition of the National Resources Planning Board, can yet bring on another period of local government chaos.

Georgia's New Constitution Draws Fire

Georgia's new constitution, ratified by the voters on August 7, 1945, has been construed by the state attorney-general and some attorneys as leaving local governments without power to issue additional bonds until new enabling laws are passed by the legislature or the situation is clarified by the State Supreme Court.

Much of the conflict revolves around the language of the new constitution and the existing statute law. The new constitution provides that no political subdivision of the state may issue bonds "without the assent of the majority of the qualified voters . . . voting in an election for that purpose to be held as prescribed by law." The old constitution provided for approval "by two-thirds of the qualified voters . . . provided said two-thirds so voting shall be a majority of the registered voters," and existing statutory law providing for local bond elections follows the language of the old constitution.

According to the *Atlanta Constitution*, in its issue of September 30, 1945, Attorney-General Cook has stated that "it is questionable whether any bonds can be issued by any of the political divisions of the state until the General Assembly has passed proper enabling acts, or amended the present existing acts." On the other hand, both supporters and opponents of the constitution in the State Senate are quoted as agreeing that no new enabling acts are needed and that bond elections can be held without waiting for new legislation.

Argument has also arisen as to the status of rural school districts under the new constitution, it being held by some that the rural school districts have been abolished and school financing placed on a county-wide basis except for independent city school systems. A test case has already been brought on this question, with the county court holding that the rural district still exists and has the right to vote bonds and tax itself. A speedy hearing by the State Supreme Court is expected.

Cambridge Makes Over-all Plan

A weakness of many otherwise excellent programs for postwar improvements has been that insufficient attention has been paid to the other expenditure requirements of the community and to the means by which over-all requirements were to be financed. This pitfall has been avoided by Cambridge, Massachusetts, where the Planning Commission, the city manager and a committee of department heads appointed by the manager have just published the city's postwar program.¹

¹*Postwar Cambridge: Report to the City Council on Postwar Plans.* Office of the City Manager, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1945. 97 pp.

The treatment of the subject in this report is especially interesting in that it not only provides a well rounded examination of community needs, but also integrates the recommendations for improvements (both in capital outlays and in services) with the final recommendation that the five-year operating and capital budget device be used. The concluding chapter is devoted to a five-year budget summary, giving the actual budget for 1945 and the estimate for the years 1946-50, inclusive. Something over \$2,000,000 of new improvements are proposed to be undertaken during the period, with increases in debt service and operating costs such that the tax rate is not anticipated to exceed 1945's total of \$35.90 per \$1,000. The over-all projection includes taxes levied in the city for state, county, school and district purposes.

Property Reassessment Urged by City Manager

A reassessment of all taxable property of the city of McAllen, Texas, to eliminate inequalities and raise values above their present "ridiculously" low level, has been proposed as the first act of his administration by City Manager Bill N. Taylor,² McAllen's first manager who formerly served in the same capacity at Port Arthur, Texas, where he was responsible for a number of needed accounting, budgeting, and administrative changes.

The City Manager, in a report to the City Commission, disclosed that although the average ratio of assessed to estimated true value was a nominal 60 per cent for real property and 75 per cent for personal property, actually individual parcels of both realty and personalty were assessed at widely varying ratios. The Board of

²See *A Brief on Assessing Practices in McAllen, Texas.* 1945.

Equalization, while able to make some rough adjustments especially in personality valuations to eliminate glaring inequalities, lacked the fundamental records to do more than scratch the surface. A scientific reappraisal was recommended, with the installation of land maps, valuation standards, and individual records.

Toledo Citizens Urge Added Revenues

The voting of additional ad valorem property taxes outside the existing tax rate limit and enactment of a city tax on utility bills are among the recommendations urged on Toledo, Ohio, by a citizens committee^a which has been studying the community's fiscal requirements. The group pointed out that its recommendations differ only in details from those of preceding bodies which since 1936 have urged that "sooner, rather than later, the citizens must honestly and intelligently face the issue of conducting a city government and paying the cost of it as it goes along."

The present study group, the Citizens Finance Committee, was originally appointed as a three-man body, in April 1943, to study a proposed charter amendment to be submitted at the November 1943 election. The proposal was abandoned without submission, but the committee was continued and expanded to include some 50 persons active in civic affairs. The committee examined the operating, debt service, and capital improvement requirements not only of the city but of the Toledo School District and of Lucas County, with special reference to the five years 1946-50.

The committee found, as had preceding groups, that Toledo's practice of operating on a deficit basis could

not be cured by "economies"—unless the citizens were willing to have the city government close up shop—but was caused basically by inability to raise sufficient revenues under the existing revenue system, which is characterized by a 10-mill over-all tax rate limit and inadequate state aid. A good part of the city's debt is payable inside the tax rate limit, and the city has been increasing funds for operating purposes by refunding maturing limited tax bonds. To permit retirement of maturing obligations, the committee recommended enactment of a consumer utility tax at the rate of 5 per cent of gross utility bills, the proceeds (estimated at about \$700,000 annually) to be earmarked for service on "inside" debt charges. At the same time, voting of a permanent addition of 1.55 mills to the city's present 4.45 mill share of the 10-mill rate was urged, raising the city rate to 6 mills without the necessity for annual referendums on the subject.

To meet immediate repair and replacement needs, the voting of a special tax levy of 7/10 of a mill annually in 1946 and 1947 and of 68/100 of a mill in 1948 was recommended. And for capital outlays, extra levies were urged to begin in 1948 at 3/10 of a mill and run at slightly lower rates thereafter. The voting of additional millage rates for capital outlays by the county, for the school library debt, and for school repairs and replacements, was also urged. All told, the increases recommended in ad valorem property taxes would add 2.83 mills for 1946, 2.82 mills in 1947, 3.24 mills in 1948, 2.72 mills in 1949, and lesser amounts thereafter. It was pointed out, however, that the total tax rate for city, school and county purposes would still remain modest, ranging down from an estimated 21.77 mills for 1946, including the extra levies recommended to be voted.

^aReport of the Citizens Finance Committee of the City of Toledo, *Toledo City Journal*, Sept. 15, 1945. (Supplement)

Revenue from State Income Tax Rises

State corporation and personal income tax collections have risen 114.3 per cent from 1940 to 1944, says the Federation of Tax Administrators. This increase was despite repeal of their income tax laws by South Dakota, in 1943, and West Virginia, in 1942, and despite the lowering of rates in other states. Thirty-two states imposed income taxes in 1944.

Total income tax receipts rose from \$365,100,000 in 1940 to \$437,900,000 in 1941; \$578,700,000 in 1942; \$695,800,000 in 1943 (Delaware added a war emergency gross withholding tax of 1 per cent); and \$782,400,000 in 1944. The 1944 figure does not include the last six months of the calendar year collections for Arizona, Arkansas and Vermont.

Four states—Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland and Tennessee—reported 1943 collections lower than the previous year, while 1944 collections of eleven states were lower than their 1943 collections.

Importance of the income tax in holding 1944 state revenues at a high level is indicated by the fact that this tax accounted for 28.8 per cent of the combined excise and income tax collections of \$2,720,000,000, exceeding even gasoline tax receipts, which were 27.5 per cent of the total, and sales tax receipts, 27.4 per cent of the total.

In 1941 income taxes accounted for only 18.2 per cent of the combined state income total, whereas gasoline collections for 1941, their peak year, accounted for 41.7 per cent of the total and sales taxes for 25.4 per cent.

State sales tax collections increased substantially during the war years, rising from \$515,200,000 in 1940 to \$745,400,000 in 1944—an increase of 44.7 per cent.

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

Local Home Rule Ordered in Germany

U. S. Zone Codes Provide Near-Manager Plan at Once

VIRTUALLY complete local home rule will be given municipalities, counties and city-counties in the United States zone of Germany under terms of an order of September 20.

The order, which directs German authorities in each place to prepare a local government code "not later than October 15," terminates the pre-war controls of the central government over local units and makes the prescribed form of government apparently exactly similar to the council-manager plan as used in cities and counties in the United States. Previously the appointment of a *burgomeister* by a local council was subject to veto by the central government.

The codes, it is directed, must provide:

1. A popularly elected council in each *gemeinde* (municipality), *stadkreis* (city-county) and *landkreis* (rural county)—except that small *gemeinden* may substitute an elected chief executive and town meeting;

2. A chief executive appointed by and responsible to the council;

3. Open meetings of the council with decisions by majority vote;

4. Definite powers and functions, including the provision of revenue, and with no veto by any official or body of any other governmental unit;

5. Freedom to adopt charters, within limitations;

6. Workable machinery for the conduct of honest and secret elections upon a democratic suffrage;

7. Additional provisions to encourage widespread citizen participation in public affairs. Race or religious discrimination, promotion of Nazi ideology, interference by higher units of government and executive veto power are among the things specifically forbidden.

Geinde elections are to be held next year in January, *landkreis* elections in March and *stadkreis* elections in May, subject to variations necessitated by military security, the order provided.

Greater London Plan Praised, Criticized¹

The Greater London plan lacks the cohesion, the realism and the penetrating analysis of its predecessor, the London County Council plan. Despite an appearance of having been hashed together by a number of people working in rather a hurry, despite sections which read a little too much like a guide book, there nevertheless runs through the whole work the obvious constructive influence of the great town planner [Sir Patrick Abercrombie] responsible for it.

By far the most important recommendation of this report appears to be of an administrative rather than a technical nature: the suggestion for a planning board for the whole Greater London area. As the plan states: "this authority should not merely be a sanctioning authority with power only to prevent . . . but should be an authority with constructive duties and powers to produce physical changes in the area. For this purpose it should have power to buy and to sell land." There should also be, as the plan argues, a great reduction in the number and an increase in the size of planning authori-

ties, through the development of joint planning committees, in areas suited by economic, social and traditional factors to be united. This type of machinery is needed in other areas outside London, but here that need is specially marked because there exist 143 totally independent authorities. Nothing in the report is more important than this recognition of the complete futility of hoping that there will be planning whilst this administrative jungle is not cleared up. At the same time we must be permitted to doubt the wisdom of the suggestion that the Greater London Planning Board should consist "of a small number of eminent men." It must consist of representatives of the democratically elected local authorities in the region, being responsible, of course, to the Minister of Town and Country Planning.

The second most important aspect of this plan is the way in which throughout, the widest possible view is taken of what really constitutes Greater London. The area considered is that radiating 'roughly 30 miles round Charing Cross, with a resident population of about ten and a quarter million persons . . .

Decentralization Prescribed

The main thesis of the report involves a radical scheme of decentralization, radical enough to involve many complications but not so radical as many "dispersal-mongers" might have wished. Just over one million persons, it is suggested, should be transferred from so-called "inner" London to so-called "outer" London. The first area is that already "built-up," roughly ten to fifteen miles from Charing Cross. Between this area and the "outer" one, which spreads from about 20 to 30 miles from Charing Cross, lies the green agricultural belt five miles wide. . . .

¹This article is reprinted from *Public Administration* (London), Spring 1945.

The types of dispersal suggested in the Abercrombie scheme may be defined as of three types. The first, although quantitatively large, is not very significant, involving as it does about 400,000 persons moved from the county of London into the less developed parts of inner London. We shall have reason to find many faults with this scheme, but it has none of the novelty or qualitative significance of the second dispersal suggestion. This relates to the creation of about eight "new" satellite towns in outer London, in Hertfordshire, Essex, Kent and Surrey. Another 400,000 are to go to these new communities. Still another 150,000 or so are to go to towns on the edge of the London conurbation, whilst lastly 400,000 are to be moved right away from London altogether. Amongst these we may assume that some will be civil servants.

Plan for Dispersal

The chief objection to the first type of dispersal is that the population should have been catered for in the same type of way as Abercrombie suggested catering for the county population, not by building in relatively undeveloped areas, but by adopting a higher density approach to development in the inner area. The idea in this plan is that, by and large, population density in the inner London area should be kept down to 50 persons per acre (about twelve houses). . . . This is a prodigal policy which will leave inner London with less and less good open space, even though it may give her more and more uncultivated "private" gardens. It is a policy which has already set the land speculators busy hunting for budding development areas. . . .

Far more weighty objections, however, can be raised against building several new communities in outer London, if these communities are going to

be planned along the lines suggested. The plan reverts to the old "sprawl" but gives it a new name. In fact, the new communities suggested are going to increase the "journey to work" and further "devour the earth where crops have been." True it is that Abercrombie makes two qualifications in regard to these new communities. He wants both industry and communal facilities constructed inside the communities. But this is quite unrealistic. The communities are suggested as being limited to about 40,000 persons, at the most 60,000, a size which cannot afford a fraction of the shopping, amusement, club, educational or local authority types of amenity which Londoners have for long years been used to near the central areas. Industry simply cannot function as efficiently, nor can communities expect to thrive, in small groups 25 to 50 miles from the metropolis, as can communities of between 150,000 and 300,000 only ten-fifteen miles from Charing Cross. *It is one thing to encourage such small towns to grow up to cater for persons coming from less developed and smaller communities: it is quite another thing to force people backwards from developed highly nodalized London suburbs, into these sparsely developed semi-communities. It is even acknowledged that it will take years for the amenities and factories to follow—if they ever do. For many industries moving out here would mean the necessity of subsidization and an inevitable ruination of much good market-garden land.*

London Plan

There is nothing desirable about spreading London out over larger and larger areas. . . . The effect of dispersal along the lines suggested would be to lower the standard of living of the persons (over a million) who are moved from the inner areas. It is not necessary to occupy hundreds of square

miles of open country round London; her congestion can be solved without losing any of it. More vertical building, greater but planned densities in the highly developed areas, can lead to a more concentric but less overcrowded London. At the same time such a policy will not lead to an un-economic dispersal of firms over wide areas. Instead a few large and well-planned industrial estates can be planned. . . .

In any case where some movement out from London is needed, or when it is necessary to draw off future intending immigrants, the places to develop are those already existing outside the peripheral boundaries of London. . . . These places are certainly not yet (as the report suggests) too large, most of them could do with greater diversification of industry, and all of them are far enough from London proper to be capable of development without prejudicing the agricultural improvement of London's great market-gardening and milk-producing hinterland. . . .

Land Nationalization

There is contained in this plan yet another great plea for government action. No such plan can possibly be conceived of without land nationalization or its equivalents. . . . Land within miles of these satellites, as also in the inner areas most likely to be developed, will already be receiving special attention at the hands of land speculators and real estate agents.

Whatever we may say about dispersal (and it is worth noting that this plan is by no means as dispersal-minded as some might have wished it to be) the planning conception looked at broadly, as well as innumerable details looked at closely make this plan the work of a truly great planner. We must avoid octopus-like extensions of London just as much as ostrich-like

isolation of London's small satellite neighbours. This is clearly in the mind of Sir Patrick Abercrombie throughout the plan, even though it is not emphasized. United, the towns of this great metropolitan area can plan and prosper, divided they must fail to plan and will fall. Let us press for all that is best in this plan, especially for the unification of planning areas and the increase of regional planning powers. Then let London's citizens adapt that machinery, by democratic means, to their real needs, seeing to it that profit is made out of this vast map of possibility.

HUGH STOWELL PHILLIPS

France Plans Rebuilding of Cities

The housing problem in France is acute in some parts of the country and non-existent in others.¹ In the south for example, where the war passed by rapidly, there is no immediate problem, whereas in the north, and particularly in Normandy, the situation is serious.

This does not mean the Ministry of Reconstruction intends ignoring those parts of the country which have been saved from destruction. That was the intention of Vichy, however, which drew up plans for the devastated areas but made no plans for such cities as Toulouse which have not even a sewage system.

One of the first problems confronting the free central government was to find architects to replan whole cities and towns which had been utterly destroyed and in which not a house, or no more than a handful of houses, remains standing. There are a great many such towns, unfortunately.

¹*Municipal Journal*, August 24, 1945 p. 1710.

Books in Review

Canadian Government and Politics.

By H. McD. Clokie. New York, Longmans, Green & Company, 1945. viii, 351 pp. \$3.50.

Professor Clokie, head of the department of political science at the University of Manitoba, has made a valuable contribution to a better understanding of the Canadian government. He has written a comprehensive, interesting and readable description and analysis of Canadian political institutions. While his study is supposed to be an elementary or introductory treatment, he does not oversimplify the subject matter or avoid the more difficult issues. He is inclined, however, to lean more toward the legalistic rather than the practical side in his approach to many of the issues. He has made frequent comparisons with British and American institutions to explain the background and development of Canadian structure and practice. This feature should enable American readers to get a better perspective of the constitutional and political problems of Canada.

The nine chapters of the book are devoted to the following subjects: preliminary considerations, from colony to dominion, the Canadian constitutional system, political parties and the electorate, the Parliament of Canada, the administration of the dominion of Canada, the provinces and Canadian federalism, local government in Canada, and problems for the future. The outstanding chapters are those dealing with the constitutional system and political parties. The author has dispensed with footnotes but has added a useful bibliography at the end of each chapter. Sixty-six pages of appendices, valuable for reference, follow the text of the book. The more important of these are the British North American Act of 1867 (as amended to

date) and the Statute of Westminster, 1931. An outline map of Canada and a good index have been added.

Professor Clokie's book should be of interest to American readers for several reasons. It gives, in brief compass for the first time, an authoritative and up-to-date account of Canadian governmental institutions and processes of which most Americans are woefully ignorant. It explains how British parliamentary practices have been modified by American influences and environment. It tells how the American type of federal system works under parliamentary government, which was originally evolved for a unitary state. It gives the bases upon which dominion-provincial cooperation rests, which constitute the essence of a workable federation.

We now have much to learn in a governmental way from Canada, just as Canada of 80 years ago had a great deal to learn from us. Few Americans have any idea of the growing importance that Canada is fast assuming in world affairs. Since 1931 Canada has been for all practical purposes an independent nation—a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, it is true, but tied to Great Britain only by tradition. During the war just ended, Canada has grown to the stature of a world power, and has become the acknowledged leader of the middle class powers. She has succeeded as a government in organizing a national economy that stretches over 4,000 miles of territory—a 200-mile wide ribbon, so to speak, along her southern border—and cuts perpendicularly across formidable geographic barriers. Unlike the United States, she still has a vast frontier and many rich and largely unexploited natural resources. Certainly the government of such a country, even if it were not our closest neighbor,

should deserve some study on the part of Americans. And I know of no better book for this purpose than the one under review.

A. E. BUCK

Institute of Public Administration.

The Municipal Year Book 1945.

Edited by Clarence E. Ridley and Orin F. Nolting. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1945. x, 603 pp. \$8.50.

Despite some exceptional evidence to the contrary most city officials and employees would like to improve the service they render. And they worry mightily over the judgment on their stewardship which will be their lot tomorrow among their fellow-citizens and later in the pages of history.

So, just as people in general seek self-improvement by comparing themselves with others, public servants are hungry for dependable facts about accomplishments, improved methods, unit costs and many other yardsticks concerning municipal operations.

It was not until the annual publication of *The Municipal Year Book* began in 1934, however, that this type of essential information became available within the covers of a single book arranged for easy reference. Each volume of the last eleven years has been a great storehouse of information and the newest, *The Municipal Year Book for 1945*, is no exception except in the fact that, as usual, new information for which there is current demand has been added.

Now it is easier to compare one city with another because each city is classified as to its economic base—manufacturing, retail or wholesale trade, etc.—for it is obviously futile and unfair to attempt to prove anything, for example, by comparing the costs of a wealthy suburban village with those of

a manufacturing village of similar size.

Another timely addition is the information on hours of work per week, overtime pay, vacation allowance and retirement systems for municipal employees.

More cities are becoming interested, in their search for new sources of revenue, in the possibilities of refuse collection charges and sewer rentals; here in a few pages they can obtain the basic facts concerning the places which have tried these sources.

Other new features in the 1945 volume include data on home rule, finance, planning, public health, traffic safety, the number of governmental units in each metropolitan area, cities annexing land in 1944, and many others. The regular features which have proved so useful in the past to public officials, governmental researchers, academicians and, in fact, to anyone who needs to know his facts about cities, are brought up to date.

The task of gathering this tremendous body of information and organizing it so that the user can find what he needs in a few moments was a prodigious one. Only a few years ago the person seeking municipal information would have had to engage in long searches through library shelves and keep something more than his own five-foot shelf close at hand to have anything comparable. It would be difficult if not impossible to find as handy and useful a reference volume.

A. W.

Fire Insurance for Local and State Governments. A guide to Complete and Economical Coverage. By Robert S. Barnes. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1945. 24 pp. \$1.

This bulletin is a practical guide for purchasing fire insurance and comprehensive coverage. It describes the

usual practice governing fire and allied hazards insurable under a standard fire policy; restriction of insurance to insurable interests; restriction of loss settlements to the insurable value of the property or risk; the coinsurance agreement; and methods of insuring property as to location. Proven methods to save money in buying fire insurance and practices which produce satisfactory loss settlements are described. A form for adequate fire insurance records is included and explained.

McCarthy of Wisconsin. By Edward W. Fitzpatrick. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1944. x, 316 pp. \$3.50.

From the point of view of readers of the *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW* the life of Charles McCarthy is notable for his connection with the development of the Legislative Reference Library and his responsibility for much of the legislation enacted in the so-called LaFollette era. "At a time when great economists said a state income tax could not be framed," comments the author, McCarthy was "largely responsible for the first successful state income tax act." The son of Irish immigrants, McCarthy became a powerful and picturesque influence in Wisconsin politics during the regime of the older LaFollette. He played an important part in building up the reputation of the University of Wisconsin, in developing its extension division, and in establishing continuation schools throughout Wisconsin. The author's account, taken in the main from 46 boxes of manuscripts in the Wisconsin Historical Society, documents in the possession of the McCarthy family and the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library, should prove of particular in-

terest to librarians, legislators, political scientists and educators.

The second problem was to ascertain that the rebuilding of these communities would be entirely for the benefit of the townspeople and that no private interests should be able to influence the plan. Here the government took an unusual step. It was decided that no local architects should be permitted to draw up the plans, even if it were the wish of the local council, and that the local council, in any event, would not be allowed to choose any architect it wished to plan the new city. Instead the government presented a list of architects to the local council, and a choice could be made from that list only. Once the choice was made then the local council could discuss the plan with the architect; but once the final plan was made and approved by the Ministry of Reconstruction, then the work would have to go ahead with the aid of the council.

The list offered to each city or town includes well known names of architects of very different schools. It is best, in the opinion of the government, to leave the plan in the hands of a competent architect who is an expert, and who knows his work. It does not like the idea of such famous men being led by local councils.

Side by side with this plan is the far more intricate one of rebuilding those untouched cities which are in serious need of modernization. Here the local authority is given a much wider scope, for it is realized that the job is different from rebuilding a completely devastated area. There will be much of local and historical importance which the council will want left strictly alone, and these wishes will be respected.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Business and Industry

Financing Small Business. By Emerson P. Schmidt, etc. Durham, North Carolina, Duke University School of Law, *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Summer-Autumn, 1945. 225 pp. \$2.50.

New York Business in the National Economy, Selling a City to Industry, Streamlining a City for Industry, War Between Cities for Basing Points in Steel Industry. By Herbert S. Swan. New York City, 1945. 34, 10, 6, and 14 pp. respectively. \$1, 40 cents, 25 cents, and 50 cents. (Apply author, 299 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.).

Crime

Criminology and Penology. (Third edition.) By John Lewis Gillin. New York City, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1945. x, 615 pp. \$4.50.

Fire

National Fire Codes for Building Construction and Equipment 1944. Compiled by Robert S. Moulton. Boston 10, National Fire Protection Association, 1944. 512 pp. \$3.

Land Use

Land Use—A Challenge to State Leadership. By Louis Bromfield, etc. Chicago, Council of State Governments, *State Government*, October 1945. 26 pp. 35 cents.

1943-44 Summary of Outstanding Federal and State Legislation Affecting Rural Land Use. Compiled by Ruth McQuown. Washington, D. C., United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1945. 160 pp.

Legislation

Digest of 1945 Laws Affecting Towns and Counties. Albany, New York, Association of Towns of the State of New York, 1945. 63 pp.

Military Training

Universal Military Training and National Security. Edited by Paul Russell Anderson. Philadelphia, *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September 1945. vii, 204 pp. \$2.

Parties

Political Parties—An American Way. By Franklin L. Burdette. New York 20, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1945. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Business License Taxes—A Major Potential Source of Municipal Revenue. By Malcolm M. Davisson. Sacramento, League of California Cities, 1945. 72 pp. \$1.

City Finances 1943. Vol. 3: Statistical Compendium. By U. S. Bureau of Census. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945. ix, 224 pp. \$

Diagnosing State Tax Troubles. Summary of Official Investigations. By Mabel L. Walker. New York 7, Tax Institute, 1945. 18 pp. 50 cents.

A Program for Federal Cities. Newark 2, New Jersey, National Association of State Chambers of Commerce, 1945. 32 pp.

The State Dollar—Where It Came From, Where It Went. Springfield, Illinois, Director of Finance, 1945. 15 pp.

Veterans

Farms for Veterans. By Lowry Nelson. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1945. 22 pp. 25 cents.

The Facts About Homes for Veterans. The Housing Shortage, Housing Available for Veterans, Home Loans under the G. I. Bill of Rights. By National Housing Agency. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1945. 14 pp. 5 cents; \$3.75 per hundred.